Integration and identity of the Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg since the Second-World-War

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Table Of Contents

Table of Figures

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Abstract

This thesis examines the integration process and identity of three generations of Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg, Austria since the Second-World War, testing four hypotheses. An overview of the most important historical events in Transylvania from their settlement to the dispersion of a large number of Transylvanian-Saxons in the 1940s, provides an insight into their changing political, administrative and personal rights and powers subject to different rulers (Hungary, Turkish empire, Austrian-Hungarian empire, Romania) controlling the area of Transylvania. This is followed by a general assessment of studies of national identity and a description of stages of development in Transylvanian-Saxon identity and its key characteristics.
Hypotheses assuming evidence of a continued Transylvanian-Saxon identity in Salzburg and within it elements of the main characteristics described were tested through participant observation and interviews with members of three generations of Transylvanian-Saxons. Two further hypotheses were used to test changes in the sense of Transylvanian-Saxon identity within the three groups, and demographic factors influencing the immigrant identity of the first generation group.
The results show that there is a feeling or association of Transylvanian-Saxon identity perceptible in all three generations, although on a varying level: while the first generation clearly defines itself as Transylvanian-Saxon, the second generation's self-description tends to be a combination of seeing oneself as only Transylvanian-Saxon, only Austrian or a combination of both. The majority of the third generation acknowledges Transylvanian-Saxon influences to have added to their sense of identity, and therefore rejects the notion of being 'completely' Austrian.
While some characteristics of 'traditional' Transylvanian-Saxon identity were still found in interviewees from all three generations, others, such as adherence to a Protestant belief, seem to have lost their importance due to integration in a modern society.

Introduction

This thesis looks at the identity of Transylvanian-Saxons in Austria, specifically the area of Salzburg, since the Second-World War. Furthermore, it seeks to address how the sense of identity changes across three generations.

Most of the first generation Transylvanian-Saxons, who today live in Austria, came here just before the end of the Second-World War, meaning they have lived outside their home country for sixty years, the biggest part of their lives. How have their experiences affected the identity of this German speaking ethnic minority and what consequences have there been and can be expected for their children and future generations?

In order to answer these questions I have spoken to interviewees from three generations to find out how they describe themselves in terms of their own identity, and their reasons for feeling that way. As will be seen, there are a variety of arguments, particularly among the second and third generation, which just shows how even a 'shared' identity, such as ethnicity or national identity is extremely subjective and personal. Furthermore, factors such as place of birth, interest in traditions and culture or extensive historical knowledge are no guarantors that allow you to predict how somebody might view their own identity, as I discovered.

While I was very interested to highlight individual experiences and thoughts, in order to determine the level of Transylvanian-Saxon identity in Salzburg today, it was equally important for me to draw conclusions for each generation group; therefore I discussed similar themes with the first generation group and asked the interviewees of the second and third generation a set of ten questions.

Structure of Thesis

While the findings generated from comparing the results for each group are helpful in assessing how feeling of identity changes from generation to generation, it is also necessary to place them in the context of Transylvanian-Saxon identity before the immigration to Austria.

Therefore, the second chapter gives an account of the Transylvanian-Saxons' long **history** (over 850 years), starting with a summary of theories of the group's origin outside Transylvania, and reasons for their settlement.

A look at their history shows how the Transylvanian-Saxon population was always small in comparison to the other nationalities living there, and Transylvania itself subject to government by several countries and empires.

These changing rulers also affected the Transylvanian-Saxons' status and privileges they had been granted at the beginning of their settlement, meaning that these are also elements that helped to form their identity as a group. Thanks to their initial rights, the Transylvanian-Saxons were one of three 'nationes', which afforded them exclusive property rights in towns and villages, as well as common citizenship within a designated area, at a time when serfdom was still common in most parts of Europe.

The final part of the historic overview focuses on the situation of Transylvanian-Saxon refugees in Austria after the Second-World War, and the closed and mixed settlements that were consequently formed across different Austrian counties; this section is then followed by my own critical analysis of the Transylvanian-Saxon history and also leads into the second part of the chapter, which considers the manipulation of history for nationalist purposes, and I highlight instances of this in respect to Saxon historiography as well as other co-habiting Transylvanian groups.

Having therefore shown the potential of nationalism to re-interpret a people's history, in the third chapter I consider it in respect to the **theories of nation/ethnic group and national identity**. The conclusions to be drawn from the works of different scholars are then applied to the case of the Transylvanian-Saxons and how to best describe them as an overall group, as well as the development and characteristics of

their shared identity. Finally, I introduce the four hypotheses that I wish to test in my primary research.
The aim of my research thus, is to discover evidence of an overall affirmation of Transylvanian-Saxon identity across all generations tested, evidence of elements of modern Transylvanian-Saxon identity as defined, differing levels of Transylvanian-Saxon identity in the self-description of the three generations (I indicate my expectations for each group within the hypothesis) and in respect to the first generation group only, the case for demographic factors to influence immigrant identity.

The **methodology** chapter then describes the research methods chosen to test the objectives of my hypotheses and why they are the most suitable for conducting my research. In order to reduce confusion in the Results chapters, a separate section explains the place names that will be mentioned, outlines how the individual interviewees will be referred to and which relationships individual interviewees have to participants in the other generation groups (there are three cases of family members being represented in all three groups).

While the three **Results** chapters mostly present and analyse the findings gained from my primary research, each chapter begins with an overview of any existing studies conducted in respect to the individual generation group's situation in Austria, which puts a further perspective on the expectations for the level of identity to be found for each group as defined in the hypothesis. This also helps to highlight the original contribution my research will make to the field as only the **first generation** have been thoroughly studied before; however, I will also add to the existing findings in respect to this group, by concentrating on the immigrant experience of interviewees from a city or wealthy background in Transylvania, as opposed to the focus that has been given to the immigration process of the farming community by previous scholars.

This means that, in the case of the first generation, it is also important to look at aspects of the interviewee's life before coming to Austria, and I therefore asked each participant to describe their way and arrival to Salzburg, rather than only concentrating on their experiences since settling here. As already mentioned, there was no otherwise strictly followed set of questions for this group, but I spoke to most interviewees about issues such as contact with Austrians, travelling back to Transylvania, following traditions and displaying Transylvanian-Saxon items in their

homes, and their thoughts for the future of the group, and their own efforts in passing on their cultural identity to the next generations.

While I used similar themes for the interviews with the other two generation groups, I followed a set of ten questions for each group that I considered most relevant for testing my hypotheses, and specific reasons and expectations for findings are given before presenting and analysing the answers to each of the questions.

This also means that it is easy to draw a conclusion for both groups, as well as creating a profile for each interviewee, by showing the responses of every participating individual to every question asked. I could also assess how traditions and thoughts on Transylvanian-Saxon identity are passed on between the different generations when looking at the cases of interviewees who are related to persons in the other generation groups.

While I asked the **second generation** interviewees to contrast their feelings of identity as a child and young person to the way they see themselves now, I asked the **third generation** (who in most cases have at least one parent of Austrian descent) to describe how they had been made aware of their family's Transylvanian-Saxon background and by whom (e.g. first or second generation relative). Another question was whether they considered themselves to be fully Austrian, and their reasoning behind their self-description in respect to their identity.

Both generations were given questions concerning Transylvanian-Saxon traditions, whether they have ever travelled to Transylvania and display Transylvanian-Saxon items in their homes and their plans for passing on information about the family's Transylvanian-Saxon background to future generations.

While I can therefore draw conclusions on the evidence of identity and what factors of the Transylvanian-Saxon identity defined are still applicable after analysing the results for each individual generation, and thus test the validity of two of my hypotheses (three in the case of the first generation), the overall assessment for the Transylvanian-Saxons' identity in Salzburg incorporating all generations is made in the **Conclusion** chapter, in which I also make predictions on the future of Transylvanian-Saxon community and identity, based on the analysis of my findings.

Transylvanian-Saxon History

1.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to give an overview of the key events in Transylvanian-Saxon history, including the evacuation of North Transylvania in 1944, and subsequent formation of Transylvanian-Saxon settlements in Austria.

Despite the fact that the Transylvanian-Saxon population was always relatively small, this is not an easy task, as not only does it require condensing over 850 years into a few pages, and hence deciding which events to include, but, as will be discussed at the end of this chapter, many 'facts and figures' of the Transylvanian-Saxon history have been manipulated over the centuries, whether by co-habiting ethnic groups, foreign scholars or Transylvanian-Saxon historians. In many cases, the reason for the distortion is to uphold pre-dominancy claims of the individual groups, to support descent theories (which are meant to "prove" which of the ethnic groups was the first to settle in Transylvania, or from which ancient culture they derive from) or to put a 'nationally motivated' slant on important events to underline and boost the feeling of group/ethnic/national identity.

As will be seen in the following sections, the Transylvanian-Saxon history can appear rather confusing, given the frequent power struggles between empires and countries to control the area of Transylvania, and subsequently the number of rulers and consequences their administration had for the Transylvanian-Saxons and other ethnic groups.

It is also for this reason that this chapter is to serve as a basis for the discussion of the theories to be considered in chapter 3, the term that is the most suitable to be applied to the Transylvanian-Saxons as a group, the formation and characteristics of Transylvanian-Saxon group identity, as well as Immigrant Identity.

2.0 Early Transylvanian-Saxon History

2.1 Descent Theories

The Transylvanian-Saxons are one of the German-speaking tribes that developed during the so-called German East Colonisation between the 10th and 14th century and are therefore among the oldest German ethnic groups in South-East Europe. Other groups that date their origin back to that time are the Prussians, Mecklenburgs and Zipsean Saxons. However, the settlers were not exclusively German but also included Flames, Wallonies and French. The term 'Saxon' could lead to the assumption that the settlers to Transylvania held links with the German Saxons, but it is most likely that this name was chosen by the Hungarians, who had initiated the settlements, and wanted to indicate the German origin of the group. This chapter will generally refer to the Transylvanian-Saxons as 'Saxons' unless it is necessary to give the full name for comparison or highlighting.

Despite the fact that the Saxons developed as a group only during and after the settlement in Transylvania, the question of where their ancestors had originated from, led historians as far back as the 16th century to search for the Saxons' 'Urheimat' (Ur-home) by comparing their vocabulary, pronunciation and traditions to those of groups within German-speaking territories[1]. Keintzel and his student Kisch, after conducting such dialect studies and comparisons argued that the Urheimat was in fact, part of Luxembourg and the northern Rhine land (Rein, 1984). Other considerations included the areas of Lower-Germany and Lower Saxony (Bretschneider), or Upper Bavaria (Schwarz) through similarities found in Bavarian terms and phrases and Saxon (Rein, 1984).

According to Teutsch (1916) the Ur-heimat can be definitely traced to the area of Mittelfranken, particularly near the Moselle, as not only the dialect but also customs

[1] For example, in Sebastian's Muenster's (1543) "Cosmographia" about the German-speaking inhabitants of Transylvania: "There is an outstanding great nation in this country, uses the German language, they entered the country from the land of Saxons a long time ago, which is still shown well in the old country of their origin as they use "datten" and "watten" like the inhabitants of Lower Germany ". (Rein, 1983, pp. 193-194) A few centuries later the "language discussion" was revived and revalued by the historian Leibnitz, who was asked to judge between the "theory of continuity" and the "theory of immigration". He requested a "specimen vocabulorum et modorum loquendi peculiarum Saxonibus Transylvaniae" to aid the decision (Rein, 1983).

and agricultural habits matched those of the early Saxon settlers closely. Overall, the Saxon dialect bears the most resemblance to that of Luxembourg, so much in fact that speakers of either dialect can understand each other even nearly a thousand years after the Saxons would have left the area.

However, Scheiner (1905) is opposed to the theory of a narrowly encircled Ur-home: "Even if we cannot find the linguistic home of our nation, the hard work that has gone into it cannot be void, as it must deliver a number of valuable experiences and observations" (cited by Rein, 1984, p.196).

One reason why it has proved so difficult to narrow the origin of the Saxons down to a specific area, is that the East-Colonisation was not a mass-emigration –only around 200,000 people moved to the East during the 12th and 13th century (Kroner, 1997), a very small percentage of Germany's population of 10 million people at the time. According to Klein, the first group of settlers consisted of just 500 families (2000-3000 people) settling around Hermannstadt (cited by Wagner, 1990).

2.2 Reasons for German Settlement in Transylvania

Around 1000 AD, Stephan I. established Hungary as a Christian kingdom[2]. The central European positioning of the country meant that it was geographically close to areas covered by the Greek and Latin Church, but by adopting the latter, Hungary now also gained cultural proximity to Western Europe, particularly German-speaking countries (Roth, 2003).

In order to secure and extend the country's borders, the Hungarians initially subjugated the small (most probably Slavic or Nomadic) groups based around the Western part of region, thus eventually gaining access to the Eastern uplands. However, as the Eastern borders were particularly open to attacks by Asian steppe peoples, the area needed constant securing and controls.

For this reason, some of the subjugated groups were settled close-by, receiving privileges in return for their "border-guard" duties, the Szeklers[3] being one of the first

[2] The Magyar Christianisation process having begun under the reign of Stephan's father, Geisa.
[3] Roth (2003) writes that despite the Szeklers' Hungarian language and culture, the benefits they collectively received for their defence work, contributed strongly to their development of an individual ethnic consciousness.

groups in the South and Central area. However, the Szeklers did not settle permanently in one area but were moved further towards the East as the borders of the country were extended. The Southern part was now being populated with settlers recruited from the Roman Empire, the majority of who were German speaking.

Like the Szeklers, the 'hospites' (guests) or 'coloni' (colonists) as the settlers were referred to, were not only exempt from the current national laws but under the so-called 'German right', their special status gave them legal, executive and juridical autonomy within their own communities, personal freedom and such important economic discounts as freedom of trade and exemption from duty. The area to which these rights applied was called the Königs- or Sachsenboden.

Together with the Hungarian aristocracy and the Szeklers, the Saxons within the Königsboden area formed the three Transylvanian 'nations', who were given rights and privileges not awarded to the rest of the population of Transylvania[4].

However, the German settlements of medieval times were not just restricted to the Königsboden, but also included properties that were not subject to the Crown, but had been given to secular and spiritual lords. This was the so-called Komitatsboden and its German inhabitants therefore did not enjoy the same benefits as the privileged Saxon inhabitants of the Königsboden.

2.3 The Golden Letter of Freedom

The most important document that details the privileges awarded to the Saxons of the Königsboden dates back to 1224, and is known as "the golden letter of freedom". It laid down that all German counties within the area of Broos and Draas should form a single political-legal association (unus sit populus), the province of Hermannstadt, which means that any previously existing small settler associations should be dissolved[5]. The juridical autonomy remained except for the election of the highest

[4] The rights and obligations to the king were not the same ones for all three groups; for example, unlike the aristocracy or the Szeklers, the Saxons did not have to commit to the same military support but pay higher taxes than the other groups.

[5] The judicial and administrative areas that had developed during the settlement period were referred to as 'chairs' from the beginning of the 14th century. Areas that had not been covered by the golden letter of freedom, such as Mediasch or Schässburg, where the settlement process had not been completed by 1224, were later added to the Hermannstadt association.

judge, the Count of the Hermannstadt province, who was chosen by the king[6]. One of the most important rules was the status of free citizenship for all Saxon residents in municipalities and estates of the Hermannstadt province[7].

Petri (2001) writes that thanks to these rights and freedoms, the Saxons had an impressively well-organised settlement area after just 200 years. Wagner (1990, p. 18-19) writes about the Letter of Freedom: "It contains the best drawn up and most extensive right of settlement to Western settlers in Eastern Europe and formed the basic law for Saxons within the Königsboden for many centuries".

2.4 Invasions from the East

The new settlers experienced their first serious threat in 1241 when the Mongols or Tartars invaded Transylvania. It is unclear how many victims there were among the Saxons but the invasion was undoubtedly devastating and several settlements were destroyed. It is likely that the diminished population was then boosted through a new influx of German settlers in order to rebuild the country.

[6] From 1465 King Mathias granted Hermannstadt the right to elect their own count and four years later, the position of count was removed from the other chairs and restricted to Hermannstadt only, thus strengthening its autonomy.

[7] With this document, the Saxon villages and towns of the Königsboden were legally banned from being passed on to different individuals and therefore to be degraded to dependent property of aristocracy.

The defensive battle against the Ottoman Turks in 1258, led the Saxons to fortify their churches, and the so-called Kirchenburgen with their impressive stonewalls became an efficient shelter to the population. The Tartars who converted to Islam during the 14th century attacked Transylvania over and over again either with the Ottoman Empire or on its behalf until the end of the 17th century[8].

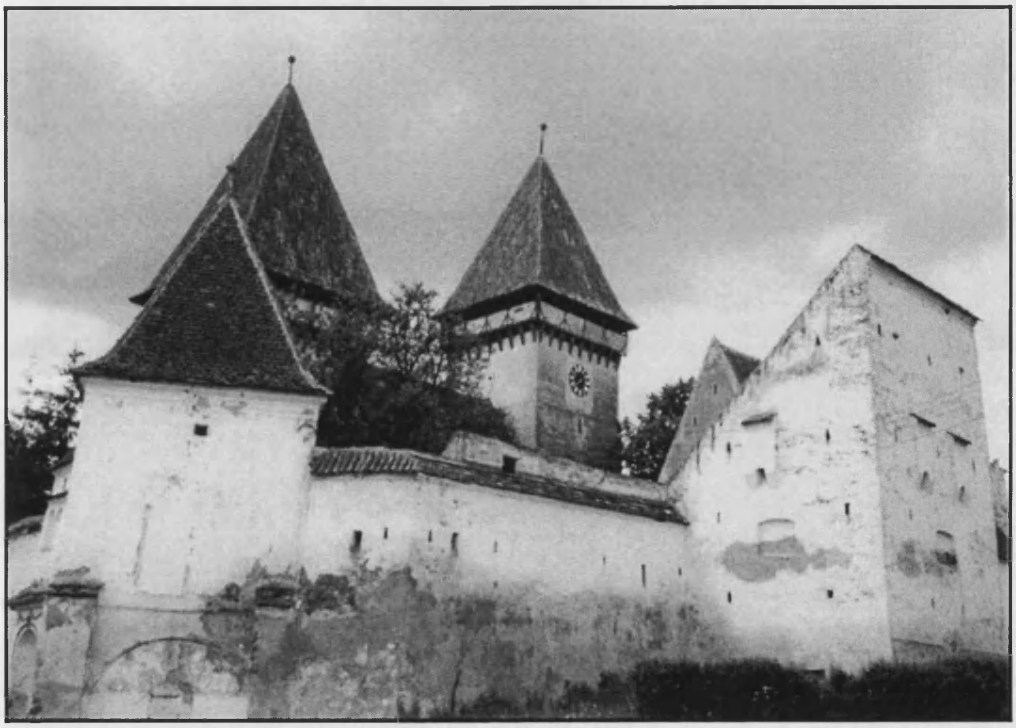

Figure 1 Schönberg, one of the many fortified churches in Transylvania

The Ottomans, however, were not concerned with occupying Transylvania but rather with making a rich bounty and prisoners to sell on the slave markets of the Balkan. As a result of the attacks, some of the Saxon localities were depopulated so badly that they could not recover and were taken over by residents of other nationalities. However, Hermannstadt, which was under attack for eight days, could not be taken by them. This led to the Pope calling Hermannstadt "the shielding bulwark of all Christianity"(Kroner, 1997, p.19), although, as will be discussed, this event might have received over-emphasis by some historians.

[8] After the Turks had defeated the Serb Army in the battle of Black Bird Field in 1389, they ruled the whole Balkan. Only Constantinople was still free and made an appeal to all the Christian States. This led to the last big crusade of Christians against the Turks. It is very likely that the Transylvanian army for this crusade also included Saxons under the Saxon count Johannes.

2.5 Development of Town Life and Legal Status in the 15th Century

Despite the continuous invasions, the Saxon towns developed to considerable modern standards for the time: as early as 1500 there were clock towers in many of them, as well as a steady increase in hospitals, doctors and chemists. Another important achievement of that period was the introduction of compulsory school attendance[9].

Throughout the 14th and 15th Century all Saxon areas achieved improved legal rights based on the conditions of the province of Hermannstadt. In the 15th Century this legal unity of all Saxons on the Königsboden became known as "Univertas Saxonum" (Saxon totality) or 'Nationsuniversität'. From 1447, a 'Comes Saxonum', the highest dignitary of the Nationsuniversität, was chosen by election process, and elected representatives of the different areas met at least once a year to deal with complicated legal cases or common issues.

Like the Königsboden, the areas of the other 'nations', Szeklerboden and Komitatsboden also had their own self-contained administrative and legal rights, and all three united for the first time in 1437, after peasant revolts forced the aristocracy to seek closer contact with the other two groups, who although not directly targeted by the unrests, would have wanted to maintain their current social status. This union was renewed on several occasions, with the three 'nations' forming the Transylvanian 'Landtag'.

[9] A good example of the importance that was placed on education is the fact that the legislation of Burzenland in 1444 ordered that only those who had attended a university were to be granted a vicarage (Teutsch, 1916).

3.0 Succession War for the Hungarian Throne

The battle of Mohacs in 1526, where the Hungarian King Ludwig II was killed when fighting the Ottoman Turks, triggered a succession war for the Hungarian Throne between the Transylvanian Vojvod Johann Zapolyai and Ferdinand of Habsburg that would last for more than a decade. While the Hungarian Aristocracy supported Zapolyai, the Saxons turned away from their initial loyalty to him and sided with Ferdinand, who had been elected king by the Hungarian Reichstag, most likely in the hope to become part of the Karl V.'s enormous empire, and thus find support against the Turks. However, their pleas for help against Zapolyai's attacks on Hermannstadt remained unanswered by Ferdinand.

In 1538, Ferdinand and Johann Zapolyai finally made peace and while it was agreed that the latter one should remain king, the Habsburgs were to inherit the throne should King Johann die without leaving an heir. However, at the time of Zapolyai's death two years later, his son, Johann Sigismund was only a few weeks old. Nevertheless, he was declared king by his father's supporters, and when Ferdinand interfered, the Turkish Sultan Suleiman took advantage of the situation and occupied Ofen (1541).

Although he did not extend the occupation to Transylvania, he demanded an annual toll duty. The State Parliament of Thorenburg (1542) recognised the new situation and elected Johann Sigismund to be head of the new Transylvania.

This situation actually aided the process of reformation in Transylvania, as the sultan unlike the strictly catholic Ferdinand II, was very tolerant concerning religious issues.

3.1 Reformation of the Transylvanian-Saxons

Before Ferdinand, the Hungarian Reichstag had decided to punish Lutherian supporters in 1523 and King Ludwig had banned Protestant writings, which Transylvanian merchants had brought back from the fair in Leipzig as early as 1519. In 1542/43 Johannes Honterus organised the reformation of Kronstadt and a few years later, a pamphlet entitled "Religious order for all Germans in Transylvania" was

printed[10]. Teutsch (1916) argues that this order does not only advise on a new religious constitution but also on a whole new way of life, and that not only the Protestant-Saxon Church but "Unity of the Saxon Nation" can be derived from it[11]. Transylvania became a refuge for religious freedom and tolerance and offered asylum to many persecuted religious groups at the time, including Protestants from Austria.

Figure 2 Honterus Statue in Kronstadt

In 1550, the Saxon Nationsuniversität officially introduced Protestantism to the Königsboden and soon after, the Saxons of the Komitatsboden also pledged their support to the new religion. Roth (2003) points out that this is the first example of a Saxon ethnic group decision regardless of the legal borders of the Königs- or Komitatsboden. One important change that was triggered by the reformation was the

[10] As early as spring 1542, the images of saints were removed from the church in Kronstadt, with only the main altar remaining. In October of the year, the Protestant order of mass was introduced and German replaced Latin as church language. Furthermore, the town priest of Kronstadt, married (Teutsch, 1916).

[11] During the time of reformation, the Saxons printed liturgical books of the "Romanian" or Orthodox Church, besides Luther's Catechism. However, this was not done in order to attempt an integration of the Romanians into the Saxon Church or Community but to make the word of God accessible to the Romanians as well (Köber, 1992).

fact that German rather than Latin was now used in churches and schools. The "Honterus Grammar School" was among the first German secondary schools in Europe[12].

3.2 Ferdinand of Habsburg's reign

The Habsburgs, however, did not renounce the Throne, as they had held ambitions to rule Hungary for several centuries. In 1551, Ferdinand managed to finally achieve his aim: despite the Turkish supremacy, Zapolyai's widow Isabella and her son Johann Sigismund had been allowed to keep their royal titles and Transylvania had become an elective monarchy. Ferdinand drew up a contract that promised a few Silesian territories and the title of Count and income to Johann and further compensation to his mother.
However, Ferdinand's weakness and his uncaring attitude to Transylvania during years of black death and attacks by the Moldavians led to the Transylvanians pleading for Isabella's return to rule the country until her son's reaching the age of majority.

[12] *Due to lack of universities within Transylvania, students continued to go abroad for their university education, choosing mainly Protestant universities in favour of Catholic ones, such as Vienna. Staying in contact with Western tradition and cultural life whilst at these modern universities, the Saxon students received an excellent science education and in turn could pass this knowledge on to the schools back home (Petri, 2001).*

4.0 The Bathory Dynasty and Civil War

After Johann Sigismund, the Bathory dynasty reigned Transylvania; first Stefan Bathory, then Christian Bathory and finally, Johann Sigmund Bathory, who succeeded at the age of only 17. It was due to the Turks that the Bathories had gained the role of Count of Transylvania[13] in order to avoid the Habsburgs taking over again. This plan failed during the reign of Johann Sigmund Bathory, a very indecisive ruler. In 1589, Bathory had got tired of ruling and abdicated in favour of the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II in 1595 and 1604. However, he changed his mind and reclaimed the throne after pressure from the Hungarian aristocracy. On another occasion he abdicated in favour of his cousin, which once again led to throne battles.

4.1 Counter Reformation Attempts

Parallel to the fights concerning the rulership of Transylvania, religious arguments added to the general instability of the country. In 1557, the Landtag of Thorda had decided in that nobody should be forced to follow one religion, and the freedom of the four "received" or acknowledged religions (Catholic, Protestant, Calvinist and Unitarian) was officially recognised in 1571 by Count Stefan Bathory[14]. While Bathory, a Catholic, could therefore not prohibit the freedom of religious practise, he nevertheless sought to undermine Reformation by inviting Jesuit monks into the country, despite the fact that the majority of the Hungarian population including the aristocracy were no longer Catholics.

While the three "nations" had to suffer further Counter-Reformation attempts during the periods of Habsburg reign, they were also subjected to threats against their political privileges, which provoked a rebellion, led by Stefan Bocskay. Supported initially by the North-Hungarian aristocracy, but later also the Saxons and Szeklers, his victories over the imperial troops, led to his election of Count as Transylvania by the Hungarian and Transylvanian Landtag. When Bocskay furthermore received the acknowledgement from the Ottoman Empire, Rudolf II also had to recognise his position in the "Peace of Vienna", in 1606, meaning the full reinstatement of corporate rights and religious freedom.

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[13] *in 1593 the title of King of Transylvania had been replaced by Count of Transylvania*
[14] The Greek-Orthodox Church, however, was merely seen as a "tolerated" religion

4.2 End of Turkish Rule

However, Bocskai's reign was short and under Count Gabriel Bathory, the privileged status of the nations, particularly the Saxons', was once more limited. Furthermore, in order to fund his military campaigns, Bathory plundered several of their towns and localities. Under the Counts Gabriel Bethlen (1613-1629) and Georg I. Rakoczi (1630 –1648) peace returned to Transylvania, which enabled an expansion of the trade market with neighbouring provinces.

Succeeding his father in 1648, Rakoczi's son, Georg II., however, provoked the authority of the Sultan when he went out in battle against Poland, despite the opposition of the Ottoman Empire, whose army entered Transylvania as a consequence, devastating the country and severely diminishing its population. During the years of 1658 to 1661 five Counts reigned simultaneously and against each other, and all but one died a violent death, while Rakoczi's actions had also triggered Habsburg-Ottoman fights that only found a temporary end in 1664.

Although the Habsburgs' battle successes over the Ottoman Empire in their defence of Vienna and the capture of Buda, indicated a change of power, the Transylvanian nations were initially hesitant about submitting themselves to the Viennese Court; not only because of their past experiences of Counter-Reformation and centralisation attempts but the fear that the Habsburgs would not be able to maintain their military successes (Roth, 2003).

5.0 Transylvania and the Habsburg Empire

In 1688, the Landtag decided on a submission to the Habsburg Empire (whose troops already had military control over Transylvania by then) and Emperor Leopold I. officially recognised the existing constitution including the freedom of religion in 1690. The rights of the Diploma Leopoldinum, however, would be subject to manipulation, to suit the ideas of the Emperor: thus the new government was unwilling to follow the tradition of dividing seats in the Gubernnium[15] equally between the three privileged nations (Aristocracy, Szeklers and Saxons) and the four accepted religions, preferring to award positions to Catholics instead[16].

5.1 Re-Catholicisation Attempts and Tax Rises

The Jesuits also returned to the country and their demands matched previous ones: they wanted their own bishop, and schools and churches everywhere, even in all the exclusively Saxon towns that had no Catholic communities whatsoever[17]. Petri (2001) argues that generally, however, the Saxons were not too concerned about the re-catholisation attempts, as they felt their Lutheran confession confirmed. While those who became Catholic did benefit, only very few Saxons chose to convert.

Furthermore, the Habsburg Empire demanded high taxes from the Saxons in order to cover the costs of the war. One of the reasons why the financial situation in Transylvania was so horrendous and why the new taxes the Austrians demanded hit them especially hard, can be found in the so called "Kurruzi-War", a rebellion against the Habsburg Reign, which is seen as a battle of independence in the Hungarian chronology. The Saxons' support of the Emperor meant they were subjected to revenge attacks from the Kurruzis, as the rebels were called[18].

At the end of the war in 1711, Transylvania remained with Habsburg, and while peace returned for more than 150 years, the high contributions and taxes (a big

[15] Office of Governor-General of Transylvania
[16] As the three groups were quarrelling amongst each other it was furthermore easy for the new government to alter the existing legislation, once again with the aim of Counter-Reformation.
[17] In Hermannstadt they were given a square as a designated area on the condition that they should return an old school house. Not only did they not give back the house, they also tried to extend the area they had been granted and successfully gained even more property (Teutsch, 1916).
[18] After the Kurruzis had plundered the Chair of Mediasch in 1704, the town had to let them enter and had to pay them 7000 Guldes as well as supplying them with food, clothing and horses

increase on the payments that made been made to the Turks) that the Habsburgs demanded, forced many Saxon farmers to move to the Komitatsboden. However, as the contributions had to be fully met by those left behind, the empty farms had to be filled with Romanians and Hungarians.

5.2 Samuel von Brukenthal

One of the most influential Transylvanian-Saxons during these difficult times was the Transylvanian governor Samuel von Brukenthal. Despite his Protestant beliefs, Empress Maria Theresia (who was strictly Catholic and held the ambition of making all her countries follow her religious belief) held Brukenthal in high esteem, although he remained true to his motto "fidem genusque servabo" – I am serving my nation and my belief. His good relationship with the Empress meant not only could he defend the Saxons' religious belief but also their privileged legal rights, which were threatened by proposals to grant citizenship to the Hungarian aristocracy and Romanian residents of the Königsboden.

5.3 Joseph II.'s Reforms

However, Brukenthal's success at maintaining the legal status quo of the Königsboden, failed during the reign of Joseph II, whose attitude towards the Saxons, unlike his mother's, was uncaring and disinterested. He judged the autonomy of the Königsboden and the privileges coming with it, to be an anachronism, and therefore not consistent with his enlightened views and ideal of a uniform Transylvanian nation, free of ethnic contrasts.

In the Konzivilitätsreskript of 1781, the exclusive property-, citizen- and settlement rights, the Saxons on the Königsboden had held until then were now lifted[19], initialising the transformation of their status from a privileged 'nation' to an ethnic minority. On the other hand, the Toleranzpatent, which granted all confessions freedom of worship, did not mean any essential changes for the Saxons but it liberated them from the pressure of the Catholic Church and the compulsion to have an equal amount of Catholics in local authorities and representative bodies. The biggest change to the administrative system came in 1784, when an imperial re-script

[19] This allowed non-German residents to buy property, gain citizenship and settle in Saxon towns and villages without any restrictions.

lifted the current constitution of Transylvania with its division of Komitats-, Szekler- and Königsboden, as well as the corporative nations. This also meant an end for the Nationsuniversität and the Chair and District bodies it commanded.

The reaction within the Saxon circles was one of shock and fear that it would not be able to survive as a "German Nation" under these circumstances. While German was now to be used as the Council- and Business language instead of Latin, this was little consolation to the Saxons and triggered demands from the Hungarians that Magyar should become the official language.

However, the Emperor had to concede the failure of his programmes due to the feelings of unrest that followed, not just in Transylvania but the whole monarchy. In 1790, shortly before his death, he cancelled all the ordered reforms, except for the Toleranzpatent and the rule concerning the lifting of serfdom, meaning that the Nationsuniversität was reinstated.

While the news of these decisions were met with joy by the Saxons, the rising nationalism among the Hungarians, who insisted that the Hungarian Klausenburg, rather than the German Hermannstadt should now become the capital of Transylvania, and growing complaints on the side of the Romanians that they were still without rights on the area of the Königsboden (where they now formed about half of the total population), signalled potential future conflicts between the different groups.

5.4 The End of the Corporate State

After the February-Revolution in 1848 in Paris, there were revolutionary movements in most European countries, including Austria, where its chancellor, Metternich, resigned as a consequence. Only shortly after, nationalist Hungarian demonstrations demanded the unification of the newly independent Hungarian state with Transylvania. Emperor Ferdinand's approval of these demands led to further alienation of the Saxons from the Habsburg Empire, while new reforms meant the end of the corporative state and privileged nations in Transylvania, and equality for the Romanians.

As a consequence of this latest disappointment with the Habsburg Empire, the Saxons now turned to their "German brothers", hopeful of the promise of a unification of the German states, and support against the Magyarisation attempts (Gündisch, 2005). Although their pleas to the Frankfurt National Assembly that "Mother Germania" should not forget her "German children abroad" when re-arranging the German Empire, were met with some sympathy by German representatives, they also made it clear that a German government did not have the power to undertake action directly.

While the Saxon appeals to Germany, therefore did not have any consequences to their situation as such, they show a growing Saxon identification and commitment to the "great German nation". Wagner (1990) writes that the Saxons now adapted to a feeling of 'dual loyalty', meaning that while they were loyal citizens of their 'fatherland', they also looked for stronger cultural influences from the German 'mother country', although, given the distance, this could lead to some idealisation.

6.0 Transylvania and Hungary

Following the decision to grant Romanian residents of the Königsboden equal rights, the implications on the identity of the Saxons as a group were ambiguous: they had lost their position of supremacy on the Königsboden but their reduction to a purely ethnic and confessional group, also led to a closer connection with the Saxons of the former Komitatsboden.

The Landtag that Emperor Franz Joseph had called to Hermannstadt in 1863 saw Romanian and Saxon representatives offering suggestions for a future legislation such as the public and equal use of the three languages Hungarian, Romanian and German, which was then passed in January 1865. Hungarians and the Szeklers, however, boycotted the Landtag (Wagner, 1990). The result of the Prussian-Austrian War, in which Austria lost its pre-dominancy in Germany and Italy, also led to the end of Transylvania functioning as a separate national unity. After the creation of the double monarchy Austria-Hungary, in which only a few institutions such as the army were shared, Transylvania now was part of the Hungarian Empire along with Croatia, Slavonia and Fiume.

The Saxons themselves were split into two groups concerning the benefits of such a union with Hungary - they were classified as the "old" and "young Saxons"[20].

While the Magyarisation attempts practised by the different Hungarian governments were aimed at reducing the overall number of Non-Hungarians, and all ethnic groups opposed the assimilation politics, the Romanians, whose cultural institutions and economic power were not strong enough yet to defend themselves against the stately interference, were more vulnerable than the Saxons, whose long-established system of church schools could be maintained (Roth, 2003). Furthermore, Catholic clergymen played a disastrous role in the Magyarisation of Germans especially in the area of Lower Hungary, Banat and Sathmar area, where there were no 'national' churches.

[20] The "old" rejected the idea of a union of Transylvania with Hungary, as they considered it an increased danger to the future preservation of their Germanity. The "young" Saxons on the other hand believed that the Hungarians would grant appropriate rights to Non-Magyars after witnessing the tragic events of the national conflicts in 1848/49.

The Saxons managed to secure further advantages compared to the other ethnic groups, through political co-operation. As the election laws for the Reichstag were based on a census of education and property ownership, other nationalities were largely under-represented and could not veto any decisions in Parliament.

A further example of Magyarisation can be found in the place name law of 1897, which stated that each community was only allowed one official, Magyar, name. After that, in official documents, in schoolbooks, on company or town signs only the official name could be used.

While the Saxons' new status as a minority ethnic group and disappointment with the Habsburg double-monarchy now led to closer contact with Germany and idealisation of the "Reich", on the one hand, their church, "Volkskirche" (church of the people), established itself as a key part of Saxon identity beyond merely religious aspects (Gündisch, 2005).

6.1 The Volkskirche and its importance to Saxon culture

The general conditions for this additional role of the Church were not only a confirmation of its autonomy, and the religious unification of all Saxons, but also meant the creation of a frame for an all-embracing national welfare.

The local community formed the basis of this 'Landeskirche' (national church) by electing not only its reverend, but also a presbyterium with a curator who would manage the issues concerning the church community. The head of the Church, the Bishop, was elected by the "Landeskonsistorium"[21], and in a deputy function to him, was the "Landeskirchenkurator"[22] as a secular representative of the Church community. Furthermore, the bishop was also expected to represent his people in political issues, and to defend their interests and rights.

The new role of the Church was furthermore significant, as the original settlers had also been granted religious rights. This old legislation now acted symbolically beyond the former territorial and legislative borders, creating a feeling of togetherness (Philippi, 1991, in Köber, 1992). The structure of the "Volkskirche", according to

[21] Church council
[22] Trustee of the Church Council

Binder (1983), was undoubtedly a consequence of the historical, theological, political and national development during the second half of the 19th century.

In respect to the Magyrasiation politics, the church schools of the Volkskirche formed a strong defence against the assimilation attempts, with lessons being held in German. Furthermore, the opinion of teachers and ministers was now frequently sought regarding political-national questions, especially as a considerable number of them functioned as members of the Reichstag and Parliament. Gündisch (2005) writes that their dedication to the maintenance of German culture could seem more important to them at times, than providing a spiritual message.

Given this active political involvement in the representation of the group, the following statements by contemporaries and their synonym use of the terms "Church" and "Saxon" are not surprising: according to Troeltsch (1899): "The (Protestant) Church has become a fortress into which the national properties have fled... One says "church" and means "Saxon" (cited by Binder, 1983, p.89). Adolf von Harnack had written a year previously: "The Transylvanian Saxons live and speak in an accord of Germanity, Protestant belief and German science and knowledge. These three things are so closely interwoven, that they themselves do not know where the one starts and the other one finishes"(cited by Binder, 1983, p. 89)[23].

[23] At the opening ceremony of Georg Daniel's Teutsch's sculpture in 1899, it was asked whether this was a secular or religious occasion. The answer was that both were one and the same to the Saxons.

7.0 The First World War

The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand not only triggered the First World War but also exposed the deep hatred and the numerous prejudices within the multi-ethnic state. For many young Saxon men, the prospect of war offered the promise of adventure and an opportunity for some to see the world beyond Transylvania. This enthusiasm soon faded when a substantial number of Saxons (total population at the time 230,000) was called to battlefield in the first year of war (17,666 Saxons). At the end of the war, 37,533 Saxon soldiers and officers fought at different fronts.

7.1 Romania's Role in the First World War

Transylvania itself was initially safe from battles and enemy occupation, but the war's immediate effects and implications caused alarm among the North Transylvanians in autumn 1914, when the Russians occupied neighbouring Bukowina.

While the two warring military alliances – the Mittelmächte and the Entente – had tried to win Romania as partner in war since 1914, the country had secretly joined the Dreibund (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy) under the Hohenzollern-King Karl I. in 1883. However, after remaining neutral for nearly two years, Romania joined the Entente (France, England, Russia), after being promised parts of Bukowina, Banat, Transylvania and the areas west of it, up to the Theiss line, in case of victory.

On August 27, 1916, Romania declared war against Austria-Hungary, and its army entered Transylvania the next day after crossing the Carpathes. Germany reacted with a declaration of war against Romania on August 30. While the Romanian troops met with hardly any resistance and occupied 60 Saxon localities, including Kronstadt, they were quickly defeated by Austro-Hungarian and German armies, who consequently brought most of Romania under their control; however, this did not effect a turn in the outcome of the war.

After Austria-Hungary's ceasefire agreement with the Entente on November 3, 1918 the Danube monarchy and its multi-ethnic state started to disintegrate and the German-Austrian republic was declared.

7.2 Calls for Romanian Unification

While there had been some Romanian voices calling for a unification of the kingdom of Romania with Transylvania, since the late 19th Century, this concept was not widely embraced initially, as the collapse of the Habsburg double-monarchy was considered unrealistic (Roth, 2003).

On December 1, 1918 the national assembly of Transylvanian, Banat, Crisana and Maramuresch Romanians declared their unification with the kingdom of Romania, and promised autonomy and considerations of their specific issues to the ethnic minority groups; the guarantee to acknowledge the full national freedom of all other ethnic groups inhabiting Romania, including the right to use their own language at schools and before courts, religious autonomy and the realisation of a purely democratic regime within all aspects of public life.

The Saxons now held talks with the Hungarian as well as the Romanian side[24], with several projects to the reorganisation of Transylvania being the point of discussion. One of the Hungarian suggestions to the Saxons was to declare a republic together with the Szeklers and with the inclusion of Klausenburg, a concept that the Romanian parliament, however, rejected immediately.

On January 8, 1919, the Saxons became the first ethnic group to declare their agreement to a unification with Romania; convinced that this decision would mean a better protection of their rights as a group with a population of merely 200,000.

As a result of the border fixing after the First World War, about 10 million ethnic Germans lived in the states of Central- East- and Southeast Europe[25]. According to foreign ministry records, Germany considered the national awakening that had rapidly grown during the decline of the monarchy to be a positive development. While the division of the different German groups was inevitable, Germany was worried about the development and the nationalist attitudes that could be expected from the new ruling nations, particularly Romania and Serbia (Tilkovszky, 1994).

[24] During their talks with the Romanians, the Saxon negotiators had to discover that their demands for autonomy exceeded the Romanian expectations by far. Despite of this there was no alternative.
[25] In Greater Romania, these were the Transylvanian Saxons, the Banat and Sathmar Swabians, the Bukowina, Bessarabia and Dobrudscha Germans, the Germans of Old-Romania and the Zips Germans of Maramuresch.

8.0 The Greater Romanian State

8.1 Consequences of Unification for Romania's Ethnic Groups

The Romanians had now been able to fulfil their dream of a Greater Romania. Not only did the so-called Old-Romania (also called Regat, which means Kingdom) double in size but the number of residents also increased significantly from 7.9 to about 18 million.

The national minorities were put under the protection of the League of Nations. Romania committed itself to guaranteeing all citizens the most extensive protection of their life, regardless of birth, nationality, language, culture and confession, and that its minority groups would be unrestricted in the use of their own languages and religions[26]. Also, they would be allowed to build their own schools and receive an appropriate part from public funds for their educational and cultural institutions.

The 1923 Romanian constitution, however, already indicates the non-realisation of these commitments, as it only refers to the rights of the individual within the "homogeneous and indivisible Romanian nation-state" and furthermore elevates the status of the Orthodox Church above all other confessions. The introduction of Romanian as the only language in courts and higher administrative offices was not just an aim at eradicating the use of minority languages but also led to the replacement of existing civil servants by native speakers.

The Saxons were furthermore dismayed to find out, that the state did not keep its promise to pay for the maintenance of German schools. A new regulation also meant that the final exams (Bakkalaureat) had to be taken in front of a state commission and in Romanian, which, according to Teutsch (1983) was undoubtedly meant to minimize the number of Non-Romanian University students.

In order to ensure stronger political representation of their interests, the Saxons now formed an alliance with all other German ethnic minorities (Banat Swabians, Bukovina and Bessarabia Germans) of Romania; due to their historic and

[26] The official language of the state, Romanian, would be taught as a compulsory subject in all minority schools

confessional differences, however the interaction between the different groups was generally not extended beyond the shared political interests (Roth, 2003).

8.2 Agrarian Reforms and Contact with Germany

The discrimination of non-Romanian ethnic groups also extended to economic areas, particularly the agrarian reforms, which meant the dispossession of Hungarian and Saxon properties. Furthermore, the currency change from Kronen to Lei in 1918 proved unfavourable and affected all the residents of Transylvania.

In addition, the agrarian reforms were not only a threat to the livelihood of farmers and individuals but particularly the Saxon community institutions: the church and the Nationsuniversität, which managed the national funds for mainly cultural requirements (Teutsch, 1983).

The resulting financial crisis of the Volkskirche after 1920, who now had to significantly increase church taxes to cover the costs of its education system, led to a rise in criticism of its role, reflected in a decline of attendance at mass and disappointment with the Church in general; however, such disillusionment was mainly restricted to the middle classes and intellectuals, but not the farming community, who formed the majority of the Saxon population.

In reaction to Romania's ethnic discrimination policies, some minorities, including the Saxons, once more sought support from their mother countries. The German foreign secretary Gustav Stresemann considered the protection of ethnic Germans as one of the key responsibilities of German foreign policy and economic and cultural foundations were set up in Germany to support the "ethnic Germans". In order to revitalise the economy and avoid financial crises, German banks granted loans to Saxon banks.

9.0 Transylvania and the National-Socialist Workers Party/Second-World War

Following the introduction of NS propaganda (through students returning from Germany, books and pamphlets) to Transylvania, its ideology initially found its most enthusiastic supporters in the Saxon youth, dissatisfied with the conservative approach of the older generation, but gradually was embraced by the majority of Saxons.

At first, the Volkskirche's reaction to these developments was one of co-operation and willingness to integrate the new ideas, only taking a more critical stance when the anti-religious attitude of National-Socialism began to emerge, and the church's influence on community life was actively undermined.

While religious leaders such as Bishop Dr Glondys or Bishop's Vicar Dr Müller attempted to intervene by forbidding any party membership to clergy and Church teachers, they were unable to enforce such a measurement against the already wide-spread enthusiasm, eventually leading to the bishop resigning from his post.

On a political basis, Nationalist-Socialism in Transylvania was initially represented by the Erneuerungsbewegung[27], a movement that had its basis in the disillusion with the Volkskirche and the raise in church taxes as a consequence of the financial crisis after the agrarian reforms. After gaining majority votes in several local elections, it officially embraced National-Socialism; disagreement amongst its more moderate and radical members, however, resulted in a split of the Erneuerungsbewegung, which led Berlin to intervene and order the two groups to resolve their conflicts – the first active interference of Germany in the politics of ethnic Germans in Romania.

While there were hardly any Saxon counter-movements to the Erneuerungsbewegung, the seeming eradication of the Saxon identity in favour of a nationalist German one, raised some critical voices, concerned with the developments, which are reflected in the words of the "small Saxon[28]" MP Rudolf Schuller (1935): "To understand the experience on which the Erneuerungsbewegung

[27] National Innovation Movement of Germans in Romania – the term national-socialist was avoided on purpose (Gündisch, 2005).
[28] This term does not refer to an actual political party, but was later used to refer to a type of political tendency that was only concerned with Saxon interests but not those of other ethnic Germans (Möckel, 1994)

bases itself, is not exactly easy for members of the older generation... we have been German and will be German until our last breath. Hitler's actions could not make us more German than we already were, they could only increase our German self-confidence, our joy about the German way, they could raise us to be witnesses of a great age, a turn that happened in Germany as well after 2000 long years... but specifically due to this because we are German and cannot become more German, does not give those, who only became German or more German through Hitler, the right or basis for wanting to re-model us in the German sense ... the opposite of this we would have to reject as a kind of personal insult of the worst kind, as an attack on what we have had held holy and in the highest respect all life" (Reinerth, 1998, p. 163-164).

The dominance of Saxon Nationalist-Socialism since the 1930s had already started to eradicate the elements of independent politics (Roth, 1995); the complete dependence on the control and direction by the German Reich was effected by the formation of the "Deutsche Volksgruppe in Rumänien" (German National Group in Romania), to become the only body with the right to officially represent all Romanian Germans. Between 1940-44, the political, cultural and economic actions of the Volksgruppe were remotely controlled by Berlin, thus tying the fate of Romania's Germans entirely to the political development of the German Reich.

Romania's own involvement with Hitler-Germany, which held a strong economic interest in the country, took a radical development after initial attempts by King Carol II to maintain its neutrality: having been forced to surrender the areas of Bessarabia and North Bukovina to the Soviet Union and after the second Viennese Arbitration (1940) North Transylvania to Hungary, the king had to abdicate in favour of his son, Michael I.

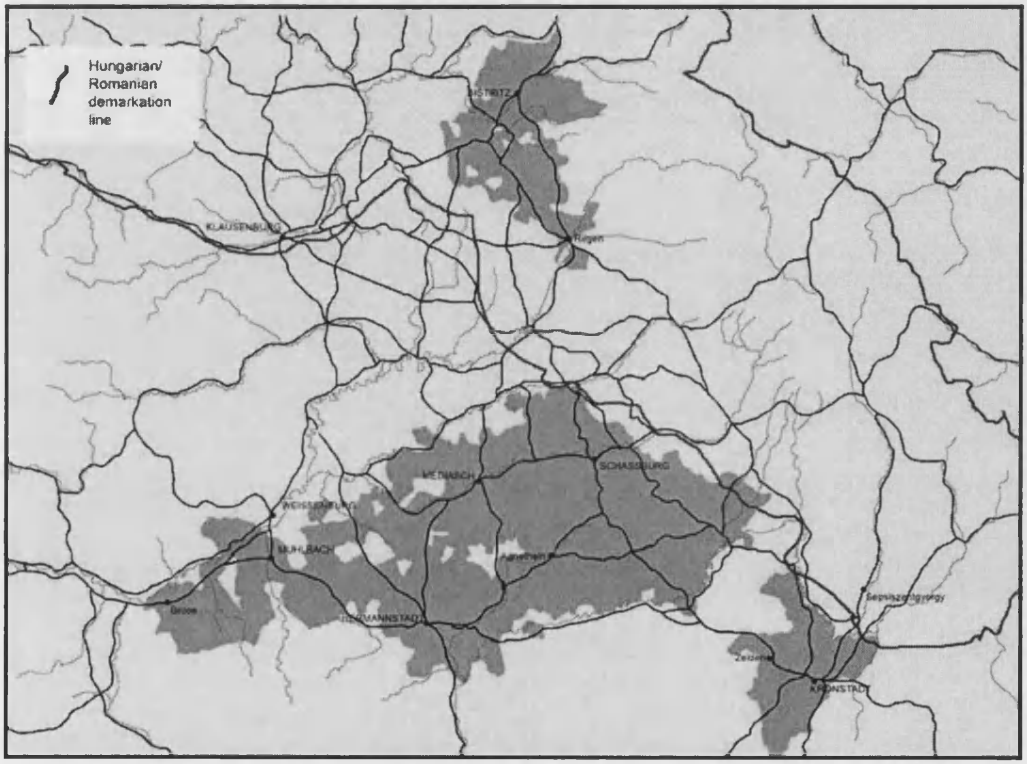

Figure 3 Romanian-Hungarian Border after the Viennese Arbitration (1940-44)

The separation of Transylvania between two countries meant that the Saxons were now subject to either Romanian or Hungarian executive. Although there were initial plans to resettle the Germans of North Hungary within the areas of the German Reich, they were not put into practise.

Under the rule of Marshal Ion Antonescu (who had been declared leader of the state by Michael I.), Romania became a military dictatorship with a strong leaning towards Germany: Antonescu, felt that such political co-operation would allow Romania to regain Bessarabia, North Bukovina and North Transylvania. In order to secure his position and to improve the connections with Germany, Antonescu felt it was

necessary to make concessions towards the legal situation of Romania's Germans, finally granting them collective status.

Antonescu's decision meant that as Romania's fate was now entirely dependent on Germany's victory over the Stalinist Soviet Union[29]. Hillgruber (1994) points out it was, however, unrealistic that Romania could actually manage to lead two regional battles in the shadow of the World War, first against the Soviet Union and then against Hungary to recapture North Transylvania.

The interstate agreements of Hungary and Germany in 1942, and Romania and Germany in 1943, saw Transylvanian-Saxons fit for military service from the Hungarian North and the Romanian South-Transylvania being recruited for the SS. Others stayed in the Romanian and Hungarian army, meaning a total of 30,000 Transylvanian-Saxons doing military service during the Second-World War.

While there was no lack of ethnic minority German volunteers to the SS (in quite few cases deserters of the Romanian Army), the agreement between Germany and Romania resulted in them being actively encouraged to join the Deutsche Wehrmacht and Waffen SS.

On August 23, 1944 Romania declared a truce with the Allies, and a few days later, war against Germany. This resulted in the evacuation of the German ethnic minorities in Hungary, while many of the German ethnic population in South Transylvania, which
was still part of Romania, were deported to Russia. The end of the war also saw a revision of the second Viennese Arbitration, meaning a reintegration of North Transylvania into the boundaries of the Romanian state. Those remaining or returning were now subject to the Communist regime, which repossessed properties and valuables from the ethnic minorities.

[29] Romania itself attacked the Soviet Union in 1941.

10.0 Emigration to Austria

Following Romania's capitulation, German commanders arranged for Saxons of North-Transylvania to be evacuated. Whereas the city population left in trains, car convoys or single trucks, villagers moved towards the West grouped in treks. Although they originally intended to aim for Southern Germany, the majority of the North-Transylvanian refugee treks dissolved at the turn of 1944/45 in Austria, with only a few having reached their original destination.

Whereas many, particularly older Saxons continued to dream of a return to Transylvania, it was no longer a realistic possibility, given the political situation in Romania. However, the danger of Saxon communities being permanently split up, coupled with the now idealised memories of the 'togetherness' of the Saxons in Transylvania, led to another option to be considered: finding a country that would offer the group a closed settlement, where it would be able to preserve its identity and guarantee its survival.

It soon became clear that a realisation of such a mass settlement would not be realised in the 'favoured' countries of Austria and Germany; as plans for a closed transmigration to Germany were blocked by the US military government for fear of 'population congestion' in 1946, while in Austria, a collective integration of the Saxons was rejected on the grounds that it mean 'foreign infestation' of the country (Petri, 2001).

The Saxons were hoping for an offer from another European country, preferably, even in the possible areas of the 'Ur-heimat', but were regularly met with conditions that they felt they could not fulfil, such as age limits, marital status or even committing their children to an education at schools, where German would not be used the main teaching language.

While some South-American countries seemed to be more flexible to accommodate the Saxons' wishes, the sheer distance, logistic difficulties and unfamiliar climate seem to have been factors that finally meant that there was no closed mass settlement of Saxons outside Romania[30].

[30] Luxembourg was only willing to accept young and single Transylvanian-Saxons, and only on the condition that they should pre-dominantly work as miners. Therefore, the option could not be considered. France on the other hand, made a settlement offer that would not be restricted to age or

Therefore, only some individual families moved overseas or even returned to Transylvania (depending on the Austrian county they stayed in, some refugees were encouraged or forced to return by the Allies), but for the majority, Austria started to become a 'preferred alternative' to returning home.
During the 1950s "German economic miracle", however, a significant number of settlers that had stayed in Austria since the end of the war transmigrated to Germany.

The slow integration process and reluctance to embrace Austria as a permanent home, also needs to be seen from the light of the immigrants' legal status for the first ten years; as 'displaced persons' they were without rights, reduced to living in barracks and with limited work permits, subject to exploitation as predominantly unskilled, manual labourers. While a change in employment law in 1952 afforded them working rights equal to those of the Austrians, it was only after the state treaty had been signed in 1955, that all Saxons[31] were able to apply for citizenship, and with this, start planning a 'proper' future in Austria.
While such a future could obviously not be realised in the form of a mass settlement in one particular part of Austria, several communities, of varying sizes, were set up, and were thus allowed a continued existence as part of a Saxon group.

10.1 Transylvanian-Saxons across the Austrian counties

Although Austria is a small country of only approximately 8 million residents, it is divided into 9 counties, which differ widely in terms of economic prospects and areas of industry.
While there is evidence of Saxon families settling in all Austrian counties, there are some which have a particularly high percentage of Saxons or closed Saxon

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marriage status, but demanded that children should only be taught in French, which would encourage loss of identity and faster assimilation. Canada, where some Transylvanian-Saxon families had settled since the 19th century was an attractive option but rejected the idea of a closed settlement, meaning only individual families emigrated there. The same can be said about the USA, where Transylvanian-Saxons had moved to over a time span of 300 years: a closed settlement was not approved and furthermore, former SS members were not allowed to settle there. Paraguay, Chile, Argentina, Ecuador and Brasilia were also willing to make offers for resettlement and were generally willing to accept the entire group. There are varying reasons for deciding against a closed settlement in all of these countries, ranging from geographical and climate factors, lack of willingness on the side of the Red Cross to support the initiative, visa payment demands but also individuals starting to feel settled in Austria. However, the Brazilian offer was later realised by a group of Danube Swabians, who founded a closed settlement where they still live today. (Petri, 2001)

[31] Some individuals had been able to successfully gain Austrian citizenship prior to this, with the help of Austrian employers or due to their specific professional skills.

settlements. The section below gives an indication of settlements in the different counties, reasons for staying there and in some cases, achievements by the Saxon settlers in terms of building their own Protestant church, or community building. Some cases will also highlight the early relationship between Saxons and Austrians, although this issue will be looked at in more depth in the chapter on first generation findings.

Whereas **Burgenland** is the most Eastern of the Austrian counties, only a few families from Billak, North-Transylvania, settled there and mainly found work as farm hands. The low numbers of settlers in what geographically is the Austrian county closest to Transylvania could be explained by the fact that it is also the weakest economically. Furthermore, many refugees were worried about an imminent Russian occupation and chose to move further West.

Therefore, a larger number of Saxon settlements can be found in **Lower Austria**. The work prospects were better, with refugees being very sought after in the Austrian catchment area of the border rivers Thaya and March, where they proved cheap workers, especially for farming tasks. There are also several group settlements with families in Gänsersdorf eventually all owning a farm, fields and vineries (Folberth, 1983). Additionally, male family members found work in the sugar factories and in the oil industry in Zistersdorf.

In the Austrian capital **Vienna**, farmer settlers had two typically Transylvanian-Saxon requests: firstly to have their own marching band and secondary, to have their own Protestant Church (Folberth, 1983). They achieved both: the roof of the Erlöserkirche was finished by autumn 1959 and the building was completed shortly afterwards, when the council of the Protestant Church A. B. in Austria decided to use its offering for the "World refugee year 1959/60" primarily to complete the building of this church[32].

Upper Austria accepted the biggest number of North-Transylvanian Saxons. Reasons for the concentration of Saxons specifically in this county were, amongst others, the substantial number of barracks, which had been erected during the war for various uses, but were later used to take in some of the refugees. Furthermore, the allies' decision to close the Austrian-German border in order to prevent a flooding

[32] In total, 20 new Protestant churches were built in Austria on the initiative of Transylvanian-Saxon settlers (Petri, 2001).

of refugees to Germany stopped some treks from moving further westwards soon after reaching Upper Austria.
The most important closed settlement is in Traun (Folberth, 1983).
In Steyr, there were 87 newly built Saxon houses by the summer of 1959; in Sierning the number of Protestant inhabitants increased from 100 to 500 through the Saxons coming to the area[33].
The Saxon curate Matthias Schuster based his plans for a closed settlement, on the psychological concept that it would be easier to re-settle in a place that reminds somebody of their old home in some way or another. Rosenau seemed to fulfil two of those criteria: first of all, there is a place called Rosenau in Burzenland, but more importantly, a large number of Protestants that had to forcefully emigrate from Austria in the middle of the 18th century to find a new home in Transylvania, had been from the local areas of Salzkammergut, Ebensee, Ischl, Goisern and Hallstatt[34] (Folberth, 1983).
In Mattigtal, the relationship between locals and refugees became so good that the catholic priest of Munderfing offered his church to the refugees so that they would not be reduced to celebrating the Protestant mass in cinema halls or other secular places, as was common throughout Austria.

More than 80 per cent of those Saxons, who had settled in **Styria** by 1983, lived in the federal capital of Graz. Although the total number of Saxons in this county was only about 800-1000, a Siebenbürger Verein was formed soon after their settlement and two five-storey block of flats in Graz could be seen as closed settlements.

There were only very few Transylvanian-Saxon settlers in **Vorarlberg**. In **Tyrol,** there were about 200, mainly in Innsbruck, Kufstein and Landeck, while **Carinthia** became home to about 300 settlers after the war.

Although the county of **Salzburg** is relatively small (only 8.5 per cent of Austria's total area) and only about five per cent of Austrians live there, its good infrastructure, cultural and economic strength make it not only an attractive but also important area within Austria (Sutter, 1972).

[33] In September 1959, the breaking ground celebration to build a Protestant church with 200 seats took place
[34] Despite the fact that there were difficulties here as well as everywhere else in Austria after the end of War, the settler's hard work was rewarded through the opening of the "Gnadenkirche" in Rosenau on reformation day in 1959.

While quite a large number of refugees of different nationalities stayed in Salzburg temporarily immediately after the war, only a relatively small number of Saxons settled there in the long run. It is impossible to determine how many Saxons stayed in Salzburg in the first post-war years, as they were counted as part of "Romania-Germans", whose number fluctuated, meaning there were 1846 people classified as part of this group in 1946, with an apex of 2206 in 1951, this figure having dropped to just 51 Romanian-Germans in 1963 (Sutter, 1972). The latter, low number, however referred only to Non-Austrian citizens, and therefore gives no clear indication at all of the number of Romanian-Germans or Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg at the time, as the majority by then had gained Austrian citizenship.

There are two "city" settlements in Salzburg, **Gneis** and **Eichethof**, which always consisted of a strong mix of locals and refugees, not just Transylvanian-Saxons, but also Sudeten-Germans and Banat Swabians, and three "country" settlements, one of which, Sachsenheim, has the largest cohesive group of Transylvanian-Saxons within Austria[35].
What is particularly interesting about the settlements near Salzburg city is the fact that more than half of all the Saxons there were originally from South Transylvania. In case of those settlers living in the suburbs or the city of Salzburg, the ratio is even higher, with nearly two-thirds being of South Transylvanian origin. The main reason for this is the high number of academics who chose to settle here, partly because of the proximity to the German border, and the possibility to commute to Munich for work, but more detailed explanations will, again, be given in the chapter on the first generation findings.

Furthermore, apart from looking at the difficulties incurred by Transylvanian-Saxon settlers in the post-war years, the Results chapters on the first, second and third generation, will give an indication how, in the case of Salzburg (city), the settlements have changed over the years and what implications this might hold for the future.

[35] The settlement in Elixhausen, Sachsenheim, is home to mostly North-Transylvanians from Botsch, mainly farmers. However, other Transylvanian-Saxon settlers from other parts of North-Transylvania, and South Transylvania.

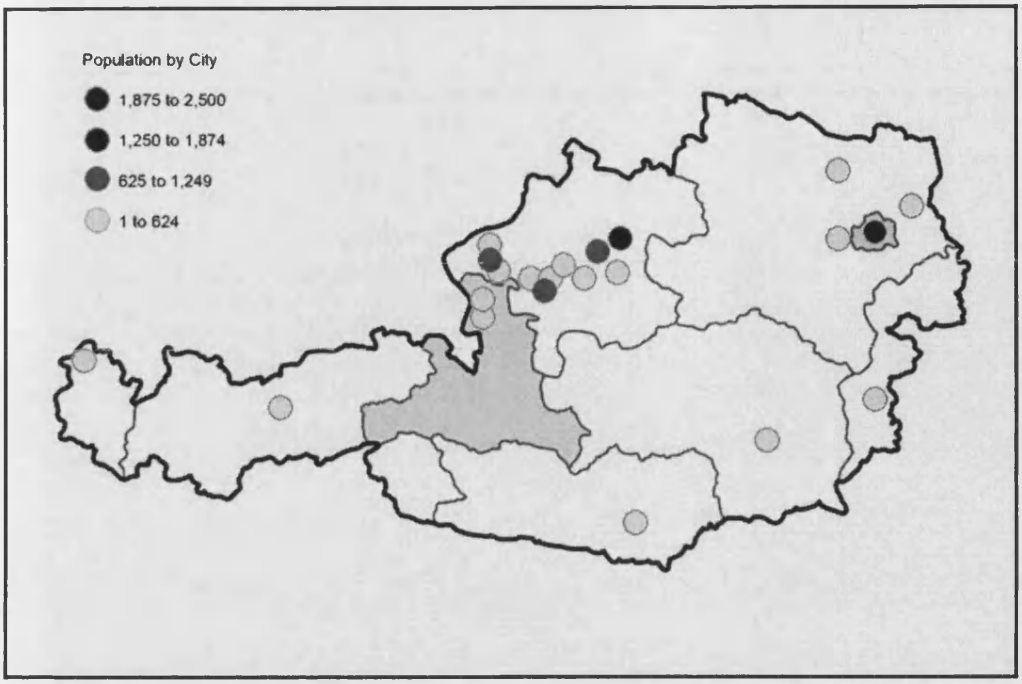

Figure 4 Transylvanian-Saxon settlements in Austria, Salzburg highlighted

11.0 Commentary

Right from the beginning of their history, the Saxons had to share "their" new home, Transylvania, with several other ethnic groups. As has been shown, the figures of how many settlers of German descent actually came to Transylvania varies enormously as do the theories over the centuries, about the group's origin.

However, it is now accepted as unlikely that a self-contained unit from one specific area decided to follow King Geisa's call, especially since there was a continuous influx of new settlers for about a century. In the violent battles for the Transylvanian pre-dominancy, large percentages of the population perished and new settlers were required to guarantee the survival of the Saxons as a group. It therefore seems a peculiar idea to suggest that the Saxons' origin can be traced to an Ur-Heimat. While the language and, as has been argued some of their customs can be compared to German groups at the time of their settlement, or even today, as is the case with Luxemburg's dialect, it seems more plausible that both language and culture are the result of several groups uniting their traditions and colloquialisms in order to preserve a "German identity" among the other ethnic groups they were sharing their new homeland with.

There also seems to be an over-emphasis by some historians as to the "German origin" of the group, whereas it might be better to describe them as being of "German speaking origin". The fact that the Saxons started to look for an Ur-heimat from such an early stage of their settlement could be an indication that they saw the need to preserve their German culture (and therefore the rights that had been granted to them in the Golden Letter of Freedom) and defend this culture as a unity against the continuous attacks that Transylvania was subjected to.

The special rights that the Saxons received has often led to arguments that theirs was the first model of democracy, as there was no aristocracy and no serfdom. While it is true that there were only few cases of titled Saxons, their rights granted them a privileged status (together with the Szeklers and the Hungarian aristocracy) and therefore, a quasi-aristocratic position over others.
These rights did not apply to the Saxons living on the Komitatsboden, who were subjects of the respective ruler of the area. Concentrating on the free citizens of the

Königsboden only, with the benefits of the Golden Letter of Freedom, they were able to organise for themselves an impressive society in the matter of a few hundred years with compulsory schooling comparatively early. These achievements as a group bound them to the territory of Transylvania and even though they maintained strong links to Germany and German culture, there would have not been many settlers that would have contemplated returning to their "home country", despite the need to constantly defend themselves against foreign intruders.

The introduction of Protestantism that added significantly to their exclusive cultural identity within Transylvania but also Germany, as it did not fully convert to the new religion.

In order to preserve this 'exclusiveness', the Saxons soon learned to award their loyalty to whoever was most willing to acknowledge their status or who would do the least amount of damage to their culture.

Through the Austrian, Hungarian and Romanian reign in Transylvania, the Saxon identity was constantly dented as their key institutions were dissolved (Transylvanian Landtag and Gubernium, Nationsuniversität only remaining in an administrative function) and old rights such as their pre-dominance on the Königsboden and the system of the three privileged nations were removed.

After centuries of constant battles for Transylvanian pre-dominance, the Habsburg reign finally brought peace, which meant better living conditions for the population. However, their intolerance concerning religion and the fact that all Saxon residents of the Königsboden were free citizens, led to cultural struggles between Austrians and Saxons.

While the Saxons were able to defend themselves against attempts of Counter-Reformation as a unity (only very few betrayed their beliefs for the benefit of a better position), the exorbitantly high taxes and payments that the Habsburgs demanded to cover their wars, took a basic right of Saxon identity away from many farmers, who could not longer afford to live on the then still privileged Königsboden and forced them to move to the Komitatsboden. There, they lost the freedom that their families had held over several hundred years.

While Joseph II eventually granted all residents of Transylvania citizenship and this meant that the Saxons of the Königs- and Komitatsboden were finally equal and could form a closer unity, it is understandable that the fact that anybody could purchase property in Saxon towns and villages led to fears of losing the control and organisation over their little 'German worlds' that they had erected within the contrasts of their Romanian and Hungarian neighbours.

The disappointment with Austria's lack of understanding or support, also led to a need to look for help outside of Transylvania for the first time, as the reduction of privileges within their own country created a feeling of impotence and also a strong fear for the future of the Saxon nation. It was then that the identification with Germany was sought politically and beyond the visits to German universities and the preservation of a German (or by then maybe better Saxon with some German traditions) culture.

However, until the First World War, when German troops passed through Transylvania and after the war when Transylvania invited starving German children, there would have been little knowledge about Transylvania in Germany outside of intellectual circles.

Further threats from the succeeding Hungarian and Romanian governments in Transylvania, and their attempts of assimilation increased the Saxons' despair for saving their 'nation' and their identity. While it is true to say that they still benefited from better rights than other minorities in both cases, they also lost the most in the process.

While they could now look to the Church as a symbol for their original rights and as a replacement for their lost autonomy, the main hope for a Saxon future particularly after 1920 was now seen to be in the hands of Germany, which had also started to take an active interest in the fate of "Germans abroad" for the first time.

Like in the First World War, Romania's initial allegiance with the German side in the Second-World War turned into a declaration of war against it; this time, however, the Saxons' flight from the entering troops would not mean a return to their homes after a few weeks[36].

[36] In 1916, Saxon treks from South and East-Transylvania had fled from the Romanian army to Central Hungary and Banat (Gündisch, 2005).

The evacuation of almost the entire North Transylvanian Saxon population did prevent them from the fate suffered by many of South Transylvania's ethnic German population, a deportation to Russia, but also resulted in a more severe cut with their old home: in most cases, there would be no Saxon community or family members left in their home towns after the war, as was the case for those of South Transylvanian origin; the potential consequences that this had on the identity on individuals from either group, will be considered in a section of the First Generation chapter.

While Austria was not the originally intended destination of the North Transylvanian Saxons, the majority would spend the immediate post-war years there, but as has been discussed, far from considered it a new 'home', as group resettlement and not dispersion across Austrian counties was initially the favoured option.

Such a resettlement was not realised, however, for a number of reasons, and although the subsequent economic boom in Germany and more favourable legal status of ethnic Germans there, led to a trans-migration wave, the creation of Saxon settlements, and with them, a number of Protestant churches are testament of a change in attitude towards Austria as a mere place of transit.

12.0 Nationalist Historians

In the Introduction of this chapter, I mentioned the evidence of distortion and manipulation in Transylvanian-Saxon history and I will use this section to take a closer look at aspects surrounding this issue.

Accounts of history are always subjective in some form despite an author's aim to give an objective representation of facts but in the context of nationalism, misinterpretations of 'historic facts' can be a deliberate attempt to create or strengthen group consciousness.

Such distortions might seemingly prove that a group's shared identity has existed for a long time, when this is not the case, or that certain events or actions in their history had a specific nationalist aim to benefit or unite the whole group. Although the timeframe arguments for the existence of nations and national identity will be one focus of the next chapter, nationalism is generally accepted to be a fairly new phenomenon. Therefore, what might look like a nationalistically motivated aspect in a people's history, has been, in fact, judged from modern view rather than from a historic context.

In this sense, Hutchinson (1987) writes that nationalist historians are not just scholars, but 'myth-making' intellectuals intent on combining "a 'romantic' search for meaning with a scientific zeal to establish this on authoritative foundations" (p.123).

Also, while nationalism might be using already existing traits of cultures, it selects them very carefully and usually transforms them radically (Gellner, 1983).

Therefore, some of the cultures nationalism claims to save or revive are often nationalism's own inventions or adjusted to its needs. Brass (1979) in some respect supports this notion, arguing that leaders of ethnic movements select aspects from traditional cultures that they assume will unite the group.

12.1 Transylvanian and Saxon historiographies

This section will show some of the distortions by writers and historians in the example of the Saxon historiography, as well as that of the other Transylvanian ethnic groups. This will show that manipulation of "historic facts" to present a stronger or more united group is evident in all Transylvanian ethnic groups, which in turn has effected exaggerations and nationalist responses from the other groups in respect to their own history or "historic rights".

This section holds furthermore relevance to the overall thesis, as interest and awareness of their history has often been argued to be a key part of Saxon identity, not just by members of the group themselves, but particularly by foreign visitors to Transylvania, such as Martin Optiz or Charles Boner (Beer, 2000). While Saxon historiography until the 19th Century was more likely the result of an individual's interest and initiative, the "Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde" (organisation for Transylvanian studies - note that name refers to "Transylvania", rather than just Saxons!) which was founded in 1840[37], has been researching aspects of Transylvanian history since. While there were Hungarian and Romanian members of the Verein initially, these groups also sub-sequently founded their own organisations, and the rising nationalisms banished any hope of either a pan-Transylvanian identity, or even an objective Transylvanian historiography, a problem that persists, as Romanian, Hungarian and Saxon historians still tend to serve their own group's aims more readily, only finding connections with the other ethnic groups partially (Roth, 2000)[38]. Below I will now look at the main "problem areas" in the historiography of Transylvania's ethnic groups, as well as mentioning the key contributors to Saxon historiography.

12.2 Misinterpretations in the Historiographies of Transylvanian Ethnic Groups

As the historic overview has shown, Transylvania was, over the centuries, subject to different rules and from early on, home to several ethnic groups. Thanks to the rights and regulations of the corporate state, these groups generally lived "next to each other" peacefully, but the nationalist tendencies of the past 150 years particularly,

[37] There had already been a suggestion to found such an organisation some 50 years earlier by a Saxon named Johann Filtsch (Wagner, 1991), which however, was not put into practice.
[38] This stands in direct opposition to the view expressed in the 1840s when it was declared impossible to present a Saxon history separately from the Pan-Transylvanian perspective (Klein, 1962, quoted by Wagner)

have given rise to attempts by the different groups to prove that they hold the oldest claim, or have made the most valuable contribution to the development of Transylvania, hence making them the rightful "rulers" of the area.

In the case of the Romanians, this is the so-called continuation theory, which argues that the modern Romanians are the descendants of a Latin-speaking population, who settled in the Dacian province during the Roman rule, intermarried with the local population, and were then subjugated by incoming ethnic groups, such as the Saxons. This stands in conflict to some of the historic documents that awarded the area to the Saxons and described it as empty and desolate. Furthermore, the origin of one of the three "nations", the Szeklers, is also not clear.

The origin of the Saxons themselves has been subjected to much research and occasionally, rather far-fetched theories, in the hope of tracing them to a narrowly encircled Ur-heimat. Gündisch (2005) writes that the conclusion to be drawn from this old and intensive debate of where exactly the Saxons originated can only show that its approach was wrong, as the settlers where neither from one specific geographic area, nor did they arrive in large numbers. The same can be said about the attempts by linguists to narrow down the Saxons' origin by dialect comparisons as there seem to be language influences from several German areas, including Bavaria, Northern and Central Germany.

As mentioned earlier, the farmers' revolts in the 15th Century led to a closer relationship and interaction between the Aristocracy, Szekler and Saxon nations. Roth (2003) and Gündisch (2005) point out that while modern historians have often interpreted these unrests as ethnically motivated, they were, in fact, conflicts between underprivileged peasants (and in some cases, even citizens and smaller nobilities) against aristocratic landowners and the Catholic Church, and that ethnic consciousness at that time was subordinate to the importance of religious denomination and status. Furthermore, another reason why the three nations chose to co-operate, was to achieve a more effective defence against Turkish attacks.

Gündisch (2005) highlights the lack of ethnic consciousness with regard to the "three nations" by pointing out that Transylvanian-Saxon students had no concerns to describe themselves as members of the "Natio Hungarica".

Voiwod Michael of Walachia, who supported the Habsburgs against the Ottoman Empire in one battle, in which he also killed the recently elected count of Transylvania, Andreas Bathory, became a key figure for the Romanian national movements in the 18th and 19th century, and serves as an excellent example of nationally-induced distortion of a historic event: during his (brief) reign, Michael was furthermore able to bring Moldavia under his power, for a short time, thus becoming "Duke of Walachia, Transylvania and all of Moldavia". While this has been interpreted by Romanian historians as the first example of unification of all Romanian countries, there are no real indications that Michael's motivation in doing so was of an ethnic nature, or that he would have improved the rights of the Romanians or status of the Orthodox Church, had he ruled for a longer period. Roth (2003) argues that there is no evidence of the three Romanian countries showing any common national conscience until the 18th Century[39].

While citizenship was a key right of the Königsboden-Saxons, their system cannot be equated with a model of modern democracy, as some historians have done; there is not only evidence of a few, Patrician families holding the political power, but also struggles between the different classes during the 16th and 17th century, where improvement of social status was a slow process over several generations.

The fact, that only ethnic Germans were able to gain political rights in the Königsboden territory could also be misinterpreted as ethnically motivated, but was again a tactic to maintain existing rights, by preventing aristocrats from controlling the area, as well as protecting trades- and craftsmen from competition.

12.3 Saxon historiographers

After Transylvania's integration into the Habsburg Empire, their political and military importance began to decrease. Perhaps, in order to thus strengthen cultural consciousness of his people (Gündisch, 2005), **Valentin, Franck von Frankenstein**, Count of the Saxon Nation, wrote his book about "the origin and traditions of the Saxon Nation in Transylvania", which was published in 1696, and also read outside of Transylvania.

[39] Gündisch (2005) points out that the Romanian historiography even claims that the quasi-autonomy of Transylvania during medieval Hungarian reign, can be taken as an early indication of a development towards a unification with the other two Romanian "countries".

Samuel von Brukenthal, the Transylvanian governor, who managed to defend the Saxons' rights and religion under Maria Theresia's reign[40], also encouraged further Saxon historiography, primarily to defend the existing rights of the Saxons; thanks to German scholar **August Ludwig Schlözer's** publication on the subject, Saxon historians received new impulses, which also led to works about the history of Transylvania, and the other ethnic groups rather than just the Saxons.

While there is evidence of Saxon, Hungarian and Romanian historiographies still presenting an overall "Transylvanian" view up to the Mid-19th century, after that time, each ethnic group had developed an national consciousness, which meant that history books were written for one's own group, widely ignoring the others.

In the case of the Saxons, the most influential historians at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th Century were **Georg Daniel Teutsch**, and his son **Friedrich**. Their "History of the Transylvanian-Saxons for the Saxon people" is aimed at reminding a – now- ethnic minority of their glorious past, and to regain their confidence. Their sometimes glorified representation of events soon became a standard work, and has retained its influence on Saxon identity even today (Gündisch, 2005).

12.4 Tendencies of Modern Historiographies

While the Saxons historiography of the early 20th Century concentrates on highlighting their past achievements and rights, the Hungarian and Romanian historians have aimed to undermine each other's 'historic rights', leading to theses and anti-theses on the topic. The interwar years furthermore saw the attempts by the Romanian governments to create a homogeneous national feeling between the newly-united three "Romanian countries", which however, only highlighted the dissimilarities to the Transylvanian city and trade systems. This has led some Romanian historians to claim that non-Romanian ethnic groups enjoyed a privileged status during that time (Lengyel, 2001).

[40] he pointed out the sense of unity and German origin of the Saxons, to her, and the fact that they had not inter-married with other ethnies, which he feared would change under the proposals to grant citizen rights to the other groups

12.5 The "Germanisation" of Saxon Historiography

As already mentioned, the late 19th Century saw an increased interest and following of German culture on the side of the Saxons, who in turn tried to raise knowledge about their history and achievements as a "German splinter" in the "mother country", although this could distort from the original aim of highlighting the specific characteristics of the group in favour of presenting them as part of the German cultural history (Markel, 2001).

In 1916, the "Gesellschaft für Erforschung des Deutschtums im Ausland" (Society for the study of Ethnic Germans Abroad) published "The Transylvanian Saxons in past and present" by **Friedrich Teutsch**, the bishop of Hermannstadt. In the preface, the publishers write that their aim is to spread the awareness of ethnic German groups, to deepen it scientifically and to introduce it to new circles. To fulfil this aim the society proposes to use "encouragement and publication of research, literature, sources and other scientific methods" (Teutsch, (1916) p. I)[41]. Introducing Teutsch's book, the publishers write that the author offers a new summary of the "history of the oldest and still thriving ethnic German settlement" (Teutsch, 1916, p. VI).

Teutsch (1916) introduces the Saxons as a colonist people, with a history "full of struggle and sorrow, full of development of strength and full of renunciation" (p. IX) and continues that just like other colonialists, they too had to experience the fate of those coming to teach higher culture to another country, shall be viewed as an intruder by those they have come to educate.

On the first page alone, Teutsch (1916) refers to the Transylvanian-Saxons as "Volksstamm", "Kolonistenvolk", "Völkchen" and "Gemeinschaft", which could be translated as "tribe", "colonist people", "crowd" and "community", therefore giving the German reader, unfamiliar with the Transylvanian-Saxons, a picture of their small number, distance from their mother country but also unity and willingness to work hard together to maintain this unity. He also highlights from the beginning that this is not a history, full of feasts, armies or wars of conquest but the struggle (a word that is repeated over and over again) on behalf of "the German house" (p. IX), who have been most concerned with discipline, law and order, despite their disadvantage right

[41] When looking at the list of founders, sponsors and members, 6 out of 84 have given a Transylvanian address. The society itself only had branches within Germany.

from the beginning not to have been a territorially united front, but living next to non-German speaking communities[42].

The Saxon rejection of aristocracy is explained by Teutsch (1916) as one of the most important factors to have insured their development and survival, as the first German settlers, farmers and miners, who rose to become knights and soldiers of the royal court, intermarried with the local aristocracy and became less effective for the protection of the kingdom against the demands of the nobility. Therefore, Geisa II invited another flux of German farmer settlers, "to protect the crown", which saw several groups come into the country and form individual villages[43].

Teutsch (1916) makes a point in showing unity being one of the main concerns for the administration of the Transylvanian-Saxons, when he describes the workmen's formation organisation into guilds and the resulting higher prices charged threatening the second large group within their "natio", the farmers. Both groups were ordered by the political administration of the district to be obliged to help and support each other.

Teutsch (1916, p.285) calls it "astonishing" how early they concerned themselves with the maintenance of folklore and had a sense "of unity and purity". However, he does not just draw attention to the strong bond between the Saxon villages and towns but also their co-operation with the other "nationes" in times of danger such as the attacks of the Turks, which also shows the growing independence of Transylvania. Teutsch (1916) furthermore shows the Transylvanian-Saxons as members of the Transylvanian community whose actions did not just benefit them but also the entire country, for example when they fortified their towns and villages.

12.6 Critical points in modern Saxon historiography

Roth (1998) is critical of historiographies like Teutsch's, that, with the aid of church, school and press created a Saxon auto-stereotype of a tolerant educator and defender of the interests of the Occident, the claim to a democratic form of society

[42] Teutsch (1916) puts these struggles in contrast to the speedy development of the Transylvanian-Saxons into what could be described as a generally affluent society: the booming foreign trade that brought luxury products such as spices, silk and Persian rugs into the country and the fact that the were Transylvanian-Saxons who bought property in Vienna.
43 According to Teutsch (1916), the Ur-heimat of the Transylvanian-Saxons can be traced to the Moselle area, in accordance with their customs, laws and dialect. However he also states that the Transylvanian-Saxon dialect is most similar to that of Luxembourg.

800 years ago, the rejection of aristocracy and the compulsory education. However, he concedes that while the Saxon auto-stereotype of the past 150 years is based on historic facts and developments, that for example, the defence actions against the Turks was only to protect their own properties. Furthermore, the Saxons were unable to pass their Western knowledge to other ethnic groups, although they were able to save it for themselves.

Roth's (1998) assessment of Saxon self image is devastatingly critical of the some of the 'historical facts' that the average Saxon might consider as important aspects in his peoples' history. He rejects the claim that Pope Eugene IV praised Hermannstadt as the "bulwark of all Christianity" after a successful resistance against Turkish attacks, arguing that it was more likely a Hermannstadt council representative who used the phrase in a report to Rome describing the events, prompting the papal office to merely repeat them.

Roth (1998) also questions the assessment of other modern historians who support the notion of the Transylvanian-Saxons as Occidentals maintaining their identity in South-Eastern Europe. He points out that their actions against the Turks were hardly uncommon when compared to other Christian communities of the time, and that their conversion to Protestantism soon after in fact meant a break with much of Europe. This situation forced the Saxons to redefine themselves, from their former status as 'hospites', to a position equal to that of the Hungarians and Szeklers[44].

Hobsbawm (1990) makes an interesting connection, in the case of the German population of the Baltic States, who were also referred to as 'Saxons', and the meaning this term had originally: pre-dominantly, it was used to indicate the status of the group, as "lords" or "masters" and only in the secondary sense, it was a reference to the German origin of its members. Hence, the historic documents that a nationalist could later interpret as a reference to German nationality or ethnicity, in fact, in their original sense would have been used to denote elite. While the above does not directly refer to the Saxons in Transylvania, it is an important point to bear in mind, as it can be just as plausibly applied to them, as the examples of the Königsboden or Saxon Nation would support.

[44] This resulted in the circulation of a Germanic continuity theory at the end of the 15th century, placing the Transylvanian-Saxons at the end of a line of Goths, Getes, Dacias and Saxons, and it was not until two-hundred years later, that the Transylvanian-Saxon settlement in the 12th century was supported by a historian, Valentin Franck von Franckenstein.

12.7 Conclusion

Since the end of the Second-World War, the Saxon historiography has gone into two opposing directions; one that seeks to maintain a nostalgic, and with it, definitely glorified image of the Saxons' history and characteristics[45], whereas the less populist, more scientific approach as highlighted in some examples above is to de-mystify and de-nationalise historic misinterpretations that might have 'survived' since the 19th Century.

While the above criticisms by scholars like Roth or Gündisch of how some of the aspects in the history of the Transylvanian-Saxons might have been used or misinterpreted by national historians, could be seen as important to be pointed out for a historian, they might not have the same level of value to an ordinary Saxon, who through his education and upbringing might consider them as facts of history and therefore part of his national identity. However, as has also been argued there seems to be an indication for an above-average interest in their own history in the case of the Saxons: therefore, there is a chance that a respectable number of them will pay attention to the developments of historiography towards a more objective view. However, there might also be cases, perhaps more restricted to the first or older second generation that might just prefer the glorified accounts of the late 19th/early 20th Century, if only for nostalgic associations with a home they lost when they were young. The dangers of this in respect to Saxon history particularly include the reference to the "Saxons" as a united group before the dissolution of the Königsboden and Komitatsboden, and in respect to that, the idea that they had always been free citizens, or the overemphasis of their German identity, sometimes to reinforce their Western culture in contrast to the Eastern one of the other ethnic groups in Transylvania. As will be discussed in the next chapter, looking at the possible nationalisation of historical events and cultural development can explain a group's particular national affiliation, as well as more accurately dating their shared common identity.

[45] Roth (2000) warns that one danger that has resulted from current populist Saxon historiography is that a German reader might be led to believe that Transylvania was in fact an almost exclusively German country, like East Prussia.

Concepts of Nation and Identity

1.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main parts: the first one considers the definitions, criteria and distinctive factors between nations and ethnic groups and thus is linked to the previous chapter which has looked at the historic development of the Transylvanian-Saxons from their settlement to their emigration to Austria.

The origin of the Saxons, their long history, their privileges on the *Königsboden*, subjections to different governments (two of them multi-national empires), losing their rights and majority status in their own towns and villages and finally, their association with Germany, all add up to the question of how to best describe them in terms of a group. To achieve this, an overview is given of the criteria scholars have established for the definitions of "nation" and "ethnic group" and these results will then be evaluated and applied to the example of the Saxons. Part of this will also look at the changing meaning of the term "nation" across the centuries, which is particularly relevant to the case of the Saxons, as the reader will have noticed references to the "Saxon nation", "the three nations of Transylvania", or the "*Nationsuniversität*", which represented the Saxons' interests on a political, administrative and cultural level for several centuries, in the previous chapter. The development of German nationalism and identity is also relevant to the case of the Saxons and will therefore also be looked at.

The second part of this chapter looks at the concept of ethnic and national identity, as well as immigrant identity, on a general level, and in respect of the development and characteristics of modern Saxon identity.

Hutchinson and Smith (1994) point out that the concept of "nation", apart from being considered in terms of scholarly definitions, also serves as discussion point in terms of identity, competing with other forms of collective identity such as race, gender, class or religious identity, from which it needs to be differentiated. However, the different components that contribute to a national identity might be as subjective as memory or will, or objective as language or territory. As will be shown in this chapter, national identity can also be a consequence of political action, as it calls for the redrawing of the political map or a change in the political regime. According to Smith

(1991) the shared and common sense of national identity is also a fundamental tool in the definition of self, as in the uncertainties of the ever-changing modern world, a re-discovery of common culture leads the individual to their "authentic self". While this form of self-definition is undoubtedly key to national identity, the complexity of human traits and attitudes have unsurprisingly led to criticism and scepticism of the concept, meaning that it is impossible to come to an agreement on the criteria for national self-definition (Smith, 1991). The relevance of these arguments will be re-enforced in the discussions of my findings with the three generation groups, and will serve to highlight the varying forms of attachment to group identity that can result with regard to the objective and subjective components mentioned above when applied to the considerations and attempts at self-definition of my interviewees. As will be seen, the levels of importance placed on the different factors contributing to the formation of a national identity and how a person describes him- or herself in that respect fluctuate enormously, not just in the case of the different generations but also in the case of those of similar age or upbringing.

However, the aim of this thesis is also to highlight similarities in the views and attitudes of the three generations, and when considered as an entity, to allow for an overall conclusion on the status of Transylvanian-Saxon identity in Salzburg today. Thus, in the final part of the chapter, I will introduce the hypotheses that will be tested in my primary research with the three generations and explain which results I expect to find for each of them.

2.0 Definitions of Nations and Ethnic Groups

As indicated above, this section will look at definitions and criteria that different scholars have put forward with regards to nations and ethnic groups. However, the vastness of the subject and ambiguities that have arisen from it, stand in contrast to the amount of space that can be devoted to them within this thesis. This means it can merely touch upon the subject's key areas and establish a basis for the conclusions to be drawn in respect to Transylvanian-Saxon group definition.

2.1 The changing meaning of the term "nation"

Today, we can define nation as "as a group of people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture and common ancestry. Nations have 'objective' characteristics which may include a territory, a language, a religion, or common descent (though not all of these are always present) and 'subjective' characteristics, essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it. In the last resort it is the 'supreme loyalty' for people who are prepared to die for their nation" (Kellas, 1991, p. 2-3).

The above statement reflects what "nation" has come to mean for little more than the past 100 years, but the term itself was widely used long before that time, having originated from the Latin "nasci", to be born.

Hobsbawm (1990) points out that due to its origin, the use of the term in medieval times outside the Romance language area, was restricted to the literate or those of privileged birth. Initially, "nation" stood for "birth and descent group". Furthermore, it also was used for "aggregate of the inhabitants of a province, a country or a kingdom" or even "a foreigner" (p. 14). The latter connotation refers to self-contained units that required distinction from others they co-existed with, such as guilds, students in foreign universities or other corporations. Seton-Watson (1977) comments on the fact that "natio" was applied as a term in medieval Europe to classify students enrolling at the universities by their nationes, or regions they came from, as well as those from abroad.

Seton-Watson (1977) writes that in medieval times, there were many other terms to describe the entire population, such as populus, people or popolo, and after the Enlightenment, terms such as *Volk* in German stood for a combined meaning of natio and populus.

Hobsbawm (1990) comments that at the time of the French revolution, 19th Century criteria of the nation, such as ethnicity, religion or common language whilst present, were considered secondary to the idea of nation, equating people of a state, and that the nation-people stood for common rather than particular interest, or common good against privilege.

At the end of the 18th Century, 'nation' can be divided into two concepts: revolutionary-democratic and nationalist. While they shared some principles such as the equation of state = nation = people, the nationalists were concerned with the creation of political entities on the basis of a group distinguishing itself from others, while the revolutionary-democratic approach was that of sovereign-citizen-people = state, constituting a nation in relation to the rest of the human race (Hobsbawm, 1990).

2.2 Nations - Timeframe Criteria

However, does the fact that the terminology was not defined in its modern sense until the late 19th century automatically exclude the possibility of an existence of nations before then, or at least strong indicators of their development?

According to Smith's (1991) criteria, a nation is determined by common culture and public ideology, as well as shared aspirations and ideas that draw together the population. Most of his conditions for a nation are modern phenomena, such as industrialism and democracy. This makes arguments for the existence of nations in ancient times, such as in Egypt, impossible, as there clearly were no common rights or duty, or even citizenship, as were at least present in ancient Greece[46].

Furthermore, Smith (1991) highlights the importance of the right of equality, which is, in principle, supposed to be enjoyed by all citizens, as well as the laws and duties

[46] However, the example of ancient Israel in the later second temple era seems to suggest that a considerable number of the population viewed themselves a part of a nation, not different from our sense of understanding of the term (Smith, 1999).

that the rich and powerful are bound by. Education and the Media share the vital role of passing on and ensuring the common cultural experience of a nation. Smith (1999) points out that several scholars agree on a 'starting-point' for the existence of nations in the later 18th Century, with the emergence of nationalism.

Seton-Watson (1977), whilst also opposed to the idea that there were nations in ancient or medieval times makes a case for their existence prior to the past 150 years: looking at the transition of England and France to nations, Seton-Watson (1977) points out that at the arbitrarily chosen date of 1200, nations did not exist in the two countries whereas 400 years later, they did. He concedes that obligations and serfdom had not gone in 1600, but a sense of community had developed as well as the recognition of being a Frenchman or an Englishman. While this development was not equally spread between all regions, there was an unmistakable trend.

In fact, there are several factors or influences prior to the 18th Century that can be attributed a forerunner function in the creation of nations, namely Christianity, particularly the impacts of Reformation, the printing press and the spread of newspapers. Gellner (1983) highlights the importance of Reformation in respect to nationalism, as its emphasis on literacy, individualism and connection to urban populations contributed to the development of industrialism, which in turn, for Gellner, is the main factor for the development of nations. Gellner (1983) does not deny the existence of nation-resemblances in agrarian times, but makes the differentiation that while this could occasionally happen in pre-industrialism, it is almost certain to happen in most cases in the modern world.

Other early factors that would have contributed to the development of a nation are organised education or the introduction of common law. However, these were initially only relevant to the ruling elite, rather than the entire population (Smith, 1991).

Seton-Watson (1977) divides nations into two categories, the old and the new. The old, in his definition, are those that had formed some kind of national identity or consciousness before the doctrine of nationalism was formulated, for example the English, Scots, French or Dutch in the West, the Danes and Swedes in the North, and the Hungarians, Poles and Russians in the East. The second part of this chapter, about the development of national identity, will consider the theory of the existence of early group consciousness in more detail.

Hobsbawm's (1990) argument is simple: nations are modern as modernity is their main characteristic.

2.3 Nations - State Criteria

Connecting geographic boundaries to the establishment of a nation can soon appear confusing, not at least as the "territory" of a state is also linked to its administration by a political body or government. One key question in this respect is whether it is the state that creates the nation or whether nationalism within a geographic area results in the formation of a state.

According to Smith (1991), the formation of nations in the past two centuries was modelled on the examples of countries such as England, France and Spain, as well as to some extent the Netherlands and Sweden. As these are also examples of countries that experienced revolutions in the areas of administration, economy and culture, one could argue that these developments helped the state to actually form the nation, as its activities in taxation or jurisdiction passed on a feeling of corporate identity and loyalty to the population.

Hobsbawm (1990) notes that states can be founded without strong evidence of proto-nationalism, meaning that feeling of national loyalty and patriotism can be developed after the state has been established, even arguing that "nations are more often the consequence of setting up a state than they are its foundation" (p. 78). However, he also concedes that the setting up of a state is no guarantee for the creation of a nation. Gellner (1983) argues that national states were not the ultimate destiny of ethnic or cultural states but rather a reflection of the requirements and possibilities of the modern world. Furthermore, Gellner (1983) is critical of arguments such as Hegel's, that while nations might have existed for a long time, their history only starts when they have achieved their objective of forming themselves into states.

Smith (1991) emphasises that "nationalism is an ideology of the nation, not of the state" (p.74). Nationalists such as Rousseau or Herder displayed no particular interest in the acquisition of a state for the nation.

Nation-State and Multi-national States

Kellas (1991) in his definition of "nation" considers the different ways it can be connected to the state: besides nation-states (states that share the features of a nation), there are also multi-national states (several nations within states), meaning that it is not essential for a nation to have its own state.

Hobsbawm (1990) comments that the era of the French Revolution saw the primary meaning of "nation" become a political one, a body of citizens whose political expression was their state, thus equating nation, state and people. However, the concept of what constituted the "people" of a nation/state was not taken on ethnic, linguistic or cultural connections, in fact it has even been argued that the French Revolution was hostile to the feeling of nationality.

Connor (1978) also looks at the use of nation in connection with state: whereas it is relatively easy to define the state in quantitative terms, the qualitative nature of the nation makes it difficult to define it satisfactorily, especially as the terms could be used to describe ethnic groups or human collectivities as well. Furthermore, Connor (1978) is critical of the use of 'nation-state' in modern times as this is meant to describe "a territorial-political unit (a state) whose borders coincided or nearly coincided with the territorial distribution of a national group" (p. 39). When a survey was conducted in 1971 of 132 entities that were considered to be states, it was found that only 12 of them (less than ten per cent) would have met those criteria; the others containing nations or potential nations that accounted, at the most, for 89 per cent of the total population.

'Kulturnation' and Irrendentism

Unlike some of the above arguments that have placed the state at the forefront in the creation of nations, a 'Kulturnation' is the (initial) spiritual unification of all those groups considered to belong to it due to similarities in origin, language, religion and/or culture and regardless of the territories they might inhabit. However, invoking a nationalist feeling of unity in the members of a Kulturnation, can develop the desire to also unite them territorially, thus turning into irredentism.

Germany, before its unification into a German Reich in 1871, was split into several small states, which prevented the provision of German culture as a centralised modern medium. However, this did not mean that rates of literacy, standard of

education, level of culture was lower or more disadvantaged compared to cultures under a political roof, such as the English or the French (Gellner, 1983).

In addition to the initial administrative and political separation of entities that would later become the German Staatsnation, ethnic German minority groups (speaking a form of German dialect, using standard written German) also developed and lived in areas geographically distant to it, such as Eastern Europe, in some cases (such as the Transylvanian-Saxons) for several centuries. However, while all these groups saw themselves as "German" in distinction to the other groups they shared a territory with, before the 19th Century, it posed no political problem for them, to live under Non-German rulers according to Hobsbawm (1990) .

As will be discussed in some more detail in a section below, one key aspect of liberal nationalism at the beginning of the 20th Century was the insistence on a "threshold principle", meaning that a nation had to be of a sufficient size to be considered viable (although Luxemburg and Lichtenstein continued to exist). Thus, after the First World War, the population of what was now a severely reduced Austria favoured unification with Germany to ensure their economic future, and ethnic German groups, disadvantaged or threatened by regime changes, also looked for political help rather than just cultural contact with their "mother land".

The aim of national movements to expand their areas and to unite all peoples it considered as part of their nation, led to several cases of irredentism; apart from the Germans, all Greeks and Italians now also hoped to be united in one state, and in the case of Romania, Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania were fused to become one political entity, although the populations of each of these areas did not necessarily share nationalist ideals or economies of similar strength.

2.4 Nations - Other Criteria

While there seems to be agreement among the scholars examined that nations are a modern phenomenon (although with some variations on the point in history that they started to develop into nations), the connection between nation and state takes several directions: as has been seen, it is not always the state that creates the nation, or nor is it a necessary requirement for a nation to have its own state but rather "share" one with one or more other nations, as the example of the United

Kingdom or Belgium would prove. However, there are also several other criteria that can be considered characteristics of a nation, which are looked at below.

Language/Culture

Weber points out that members of a nation do not even necessarily need to share one common language, as the example of the Swiss seems to prove, although it is generally the case, as it might strengthen solidarity[47].

Hobsbawm (1990) writes that the insistence on linguistic uniformity by the French since the Revolution was something rather exceptional at the time[48]. Acquiring a common language as a condition for citizenship would also become a requirement in the case of the USA.

Gellner (1983) writes that while there are around 8000 languages there are only around 200 states, showing there must be a large number of groups that share cultural traits but who have not activated that potential nationalism, meaning that "mutual cultural substitutability" (p. 45) has to be dismissed as the basis of the state. Gellner therefore concludes that one cannot define nations in terms of shared culture alone as it would mean the automatic inclusion of too many other non-nationalist groups.

As other elements in the development of the nation, language also is connected to modern factors such as a general print language and high levels of literacy as a means of applying to the entire population within a substantially sized geographic region, as local dialects (that might of course share some similarities with others in the region) would otherwise prevail.

Thus, Hobsbawm (1990) concludes that national languages are therefore, in most cases, at least partly constructions or even inventions, making use of a variety of idioms to create one standard, meaning that language as a means of group differentiation is in fact, a consequence of "late generalisation".

[47] However, Weber is also critical of the argument that a common language can guarantee solidarity such as the German-speaking Alsatians, who refuse to be part of a German 'nation', or in the example of the English and the Irish. Religion and a common political destiny with another nation, however would serve as more appropriate examples (in Gerth and Wright-Mills (eds and trans.), 1948).

[48] In most countries up to that point, several languages were spoken. Furthermore, sovereigns were also often "imported" from a foreign country and continued to use the language they had grown up with.

However, especially in the case of Germany, the importance of a commonly used language (*Hochsprache*) should not be overlooked, as this was a main connecting factor between the various states (of different sizes and religions) that existed before German unification, and developed its standard of correctness through theatres in the absence of a state standard.

The emergence of printing and using a standardised language, is the most important pre-condition for nationalism according to Anderson (1983) and furthermore aids the development of capitalism and the centralised state. However, while the circulation of printed works undoubtedly aided in the development of nations, it could also destroy and weaken others, particularly ethnic groups, who could not compete with literary languages (Kellas, 1991).

Size

Hobsbawm (1990) writes that in the 19th Century the concept of a small state or nation was widely rejected, as a sufficient size was considered necessary to guarantee future development. In that sense, the idea of Belgium and Portugal being independent nations was considered ridiculous. In Germany, nationalists favoured the creation of a large-scale state as opposed to the system of mini-states (*Kleinstaaterei*, which was used as a derogatory term) based on their economic benefits (Hobsbawm, 1990).

After the First World War, there were only twenty-six European states according to the Wilsonian formulation (Hobsbawm, 1990), whereas this figure has now risen to 45. While this might be an indicator against the importance of the "threshold principle", Gellner (1983) argues that a modern state cannot fall below a certain minimal size if it is to sustain a viable high culture, without having to parasite on its neighbours.

Will/Suffering

Renan (1882) defines the nation as a soul or spiritual principle, constituted by just the past and the presence. This means that a nation does not only share a history full of remembrances but also that it displays the desire to continue to live together in this group and share and value their heritage. Furthermore, he points out that in respect of history, while having achieved great things together and wishing to continue to do so, what is even more important to unite people is the common suffering they have

experienced. Renan (1882) believes that the reason for this is the fact that suffering and catastrophes require a common effort and necessitate obligations.

Gellner (1983) argues that to define nations as groups who will themselves to continue as communities, as Renan had done, would also include several other communities that are clearly not nations. Hroch (1983) also argues against the idea of the nation as a consequence of national consciousness or will, arguing that "the conception of the nation is a constituent of social reality of historical origin"(p.3).

2.5 Summary

The hybridity of the term "nation" over the centuries has demanded constant revaluation and re-definition according to the requirements of time and political/economic situations, and thus has pushed different factors to the forefront, whilst likewise reducing the importance previously placed on others as to what constitutes a nation.

In the modern understanding of "nation" it might seem strange that criteria such as common language or shared culture did not seem essential to the concept and were even viewed with hostility at the time of the French Revolution. Gellner (1983) argues that in the industrial age, virtually the entire population of a society became literate, meaning that high culture was now universally experienced and therefore required political support and infrastructure.

In his view, ethnicity is a construct of the state, rather than a 'given' (Kellas, 1991) and it seems logical that during an early industrial phase, alienated, culturally-underprivileged individuals were more likely seek to integrate themselves into a large than a small cultural pool, where a language might be spoken only in a few villages, or that lack literary traditions.

However, an argument too focused on the nation as a result of the demands of modern states and economy can overlook the earlier existence of national consciousness, the traditional cultural aspects, the patriotism and readiness to die for one's nation, even if it might not have been applicable to an entire group yet.

Given the increase in the number of nations and independent states within Europe in the past 20 years alone, it might seem equally difficult to grasp the concept of more modern times that a nation needed to be big in terms of population and state size, which encouraged irredentist movements to aspire to a unification with groups that were considered to share aspects of culture or had a common language but without concern for any lack of shared history or, indeed homeland. It seems hardly surprising therefore, that there is no common agreement as to what constitutes a nation today, as scholars might focus on one or two particular aspect as to how nations developed/what characterises them or have to admit that there is no concise set of criteria that can be applied to all nations, as there are too many variations in their development and characteristics (shared common language or several languages as in the case of Switzerland or Belgium, shared homeland that turned the people of a state into a nation or a common culture that existed before the creation of the actual country in terms of borders, as the example of Germany shows). What can be concluded from the above, is in fact, that every nation is unique (Smith, 1991) and even the least developed, possesses at least one irreplaceable value.

Trying to use too loose or general terms to define a nation, however (such as group united through will/common suffering) is not satisfactory either, as this can also be applied to other entities as the discussion on ethnic groups below will now show.

2.6 Definitions of "Ethnic Group"

Connor (1978) writes that to define "ethnic group" is an even harder task than to define nation. In general terms, an ethnic group should be defined as a basic human category (therefore not a subgroup). However, with American sociologists using the term 'subgroup' in their definitions of the term, this has led to a general assumption that an ethnic group needs to be a minority group within a society or country, whereas it can be the dominant group, such as the English or French. Furthermore, ethnicity is also mistakenly applied to all kinds of identity groups of religious, language or other origin.

In fact, when looking at different ethnic groups one might discover nations or potential national groups. Quoting Barker "a nation must be an idea as well as a fact before it becomes a dynamic force", Connor (1978) arrives at the conclusion that the key difference between ethnic group and nation, is that an ethnic group only

becomes a nation when its members become aware of their uniqueness as a group, thus becoming self-defined.

According to Connor (1978) then, all nations have derived or in fact still are, "ethnic groups", with the distinction that while an ethnic group might be either self- or other-defined, a nation always needs to be self-defined.

Smith (1991) also writes about the development of ethnic categories into 'ethnies', which then in turn can become nations: in the first instance there is a group that shares some common cultural traits, such as dialects, kinship or religion but lacks the sense of self-awareness across the group, only some shared memories, and sometimes even a common name or territory. Often it is outsiders, such as missionaries or travellers, that may note an affinity and through their actions, help to create a bond among the group.

An 'ethnie', according to Smith, is a named group with an 'ethno-history', a number of shared memories and myths. While it might not be in actual possession of a homeland, they have at least a strong association with a historic territory.

Alternatively, a new ethnic group might form by splitting from an ethnic community in order to set up their own group. Smith (1991) also points out that integration of several classes rather than their separation has been of main concern to both religious and ethnic groups. This in turn can strengthen an ethnic group as it encourages the homogeneity of a group and offsets them from others.

Primordialism and Constructivism

Brass (1979) comments on the difference of concepts that scholars employ when considering an ethnic group or nation: whether a group are **primordial** or natural communities or whether they have been created by an elite or a political system, and thus have been '**constructed**'.

Primordialism supports the idea of life 'attachments' which every person carries around with him, drawn from kinship relation, place of birth, religion and customs which are 'natural' and 'spiritual' and allow for easy empathy with others from a similar background. Furthermore, primordialists tend to agree on ethnicity to be based on descent, although it is clear that there are only very few groups who can trace their history to a known common descent, meaning that their "belief" in one is

what has become an essential element in the definition of an ethnic group. The importance of this shared history and descent with regard to ethnic groups will be discussed in a separate section below, in more detail.

Attachments to childhood or youth, are of course not restricted to any type of group or nation, as they are a human trait, and they remain with a person consciously in the form of e.g. daily routines or unconsciously within their adult personality (Brass, 1979).

Overall the two main objectives of Brass (1979) to the primordialist argument are the idea that it is possible to predict the future development of a group that has been identified as a distinct primordial community with a society[49] and the notion that ethnic attachments have the potential to destroy civil society, as they are part of the non-rational part of human society[50].

Brass (1979) however, writes that despite the proof that new cultural groups can be created for political or economic benefit, does not imply that the primordialist view is not relevant to the assessment of groups with a long, culturally rich heritage. In fact, cultural persistence within a group, can mean effective political motivation on specific ethnic appeals with the help of already existing educational institutions.

Constructivists such as Gellner or Hobsbawm, argue that ethnic groups are the result of political and economic change and that their cultural characteristics including traditions or language are carefully selected by the leaders of ethnic movements to unite and promote the interests of the group. Furthermore, as has been seen in the previous sections, these thinkers also argue that nationalism and nations are completely modern phenomena, resulting from economic demands of industrialism, thus largely ignoring collective actions and choices.

Brass (1979) concludes that regardless of whether a group's culture is "old" or "new", ethnicity and nationality is largely a reflection of cultural change induced by politics, and that rather than favouring either primordialism or constructivism, it is both the skillful employment of primordial attachments of group members and understanding

[49] This view is largely associated with early European nationalist ideology and is no longer widely held (Brass, 1979)|.
[50] This ignores examples of people rationally adopting an ethnic identity to preserve one's existence or for other types of gain. Also, there is no prove that primordial attachments pose a bigger danger to civil order, than any other potential conflict (Brass, 1979).

of shifting associations of politics that will bring advantage to an elite within an ethnic group.

2.7 Descent Myth, Golden Age and Homeland

Smith (1991) argues that ethnic groups depend on descent myths to effectively ensure the survival of their group, as according to him the question of "where did we come from" is vital to the meaning of "who we are" (p. 22). If an ethnic group is confirmed in their identity, then it can even survive new strong cultural influences from other more dominant groups in their home country[51].

Smith (1991) further argues that the descents myths which are often blurred with historical facts are important to an ethnie's survival, even if they might no longer live in their designated homeland (such as the Jews or Armenians) as the nostalgia and early knowledge of these myths find their way into a member's consciousness of cultural identity.

Smith (1991) also mentions the countryside as well as the cities that through their historic connections become "sacred", the homeland being seen as the place of where a country's heroes, saints and historic figures lived, defended and built up the area for the exclusive use of their peoples.

2.8 Conclusion

The above sections have aimed to provide an overview of characteristics and criteria that constitute nations and ethnic groups, which, given the multitude of variations and historic developments in Europe alone over the last few centuries is a difficult task , even when restricting oneself to just a few key thinkers.

Hroch (1983) writes that the problem with trying to define "nation" is the resulting contradiction between the demand for an exhaustive definition of term, whilst, at the same time, the "distinguishing features" that form the nation develop rapidly.

[51] Smith (1991) names the Persians as an example who despite being conquered by Arabs, Turks and other groups were able to maintain their own distinct collective cultural identity, and even led to a revival of Person linguistics and literature centuries later.

Apart from the difficulty of trying to differentiate between nations and ethnic groups (in a simplified way one could argue that the key difference might be that ethnic groups are exclusive[52] (membership is due to inborn attributes), while nations are inclusive through their cultural and political definitions; however, size of members, minority or dominant population status within a geographic entity, religion, own or shared state can still be factors that apply/don't apply to both classifications) there are also opposing views about the connection between the two: whereas Smith sees nations as having developed through the extensions of ethnic identities, thus not introducing particularly novel elements or changes in the goals of human communication and association, thinkers like Anderson or Gellner have emphasized the modernity and novelty of nationalism (Kellas, 1991).

While it is undoubtedly true that 'imagined communities' (Anderson's concept that in even the smallest nation or ethnic group, members cannot possibly know most of their fellow men and women, hence their unity is one of imagination) benefited from the common structure of a state structure, language and economy, I believe that the myths or old languages in Smith's argument of continuity are as equally important in explaining how nationalism can mobilise a population made up of different individuals and classes to identify themselves within a group concept.

Kellas (1991) points out that ethnic groups, in general, differ from nations in that they are usually smaller, show a common ancestry more clearly and are more persistent in human history, whereas nations are more specifically linked to time and place.

Returning to the possible transformation of an ethnic group into a nation, I think that there is also a lot of strength in Connor's argument of a group's self-belief; even if

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[52] Unlike nation-making that has at times attempted to include the entire population within its geographical boundaries, whether through forced or encouraged assimilation of its members in terms of language, culture or religion, ethnic groups insist on the importance of the common descent and shared history of their members, which therefore might make it seem difficult or even impossible for an outsider to join the group. However, most ethnic groups too, especially those who populate wide geographic areas, show strongly heterogeneous elements where depopulation and resettlements mean that the shared common 'descent myth' is just that, a myth.

this comes as a result of nationalist efforts to create such a feeling, and this is also where aspects of Primordialism and Construtivism can meet as Brass has pointed out; as the belief in common descent, shared culture and history might help create the wish for a group to have their own state and administration. Unfortunately, this often seems to go hand in hand with conflicts, suppression of other groups or war within countries where there are several ethnic groups, and where one or more are striving for the recognition as a nation or administrative control of a geographic area. It also shows how powerful ethnic or national identity can be in inducing ordinary citizens to be prepared to die for it, as has been seen throughout the 20th Century. At the same time, the nation-state has become even more of an exception and the situation of minority groups that do not share cultural traits, religion or language with the country they live in, only highlights the importance that ethnicity continues to have and that state administration, strong economy or even awarding of citizenship might not be enough to integrate them into the "nation" or, perhaps, only slowly.

2.9 Nations and Ethnies Theories applied to Transylvanian-Saxons

What conclusions can be drawn from the above arguments for group definitions to the case of the Saxons? Perhaps the most obvious result to be applied can be found in the section on the changing meaning of the term "nation": Thus, the Saxon "nation" the History chapter referred to, was a reflection of their corporate status and privileges, which is why its members included only those Saxons living on the *Königsboden*, and not the ones living on the *Komitatsboden* as well. Furthermore, the status that the term 'natio' signified for the three Transylvanian groups, is also indicated by the inter-usage of "Stand", which stands for "rank" or "class", the emphasis therefore being on their special position, not to indicate national identity, or how they perceived themselves.

However, while the terminology at the time of Saxon "nation" might not match the requirements of a "nation" in the modern sense, there are several factors that the above theorists have pointed out in respect to nations and ethnic groups that are applicable to the case of the Saxons' development of group consciousness and therefore useful to the considerations of a group definition:

The arrival of **Reformation** (which has been attributed a significant fore-runner function in the creation of nations) in Transylvania resulted in a common aspect that

was shared by Saxon residents of both areas, the first example of a "group decision" that would contribute to the future development of group consciousness through the establishment of the Saxon "Volkskirche". It has also often been argued that the Saxons' conversion to Protestantism and the decision to tolerate the four "received" religions meant that confession now came to equal ethnic group in Transylvania, although critics have pointed out that this has been over-emphasised.

While there would have been a variety of Saxon dialects, and as has been seen, the adoption of a "common" **language** within a nation or a state is again, a modern phenomenon, these dialects still were based on Germanic ones. The use of German at Church and print also contributed towards the creation of a standard language, although in villages and regions, individual dialects prevailed and "High German" as an everyday language did not find widespread acceptance or use until modern times, despite the high percentage of Saxon teachers and clergymen studying in Germany.

As has been shown, attempts to discover the Saxon "***Urheimat***" were made before the arrival of the age of Nationalism, indicating a will to unify the group, if only for the maintenance of privileges but nevertheless beneficial to the later development of shared identity.

Saxon Descent Myths

The "descent story" story of the Saxons included some rather far-fetched theories over the centuries, such as Bonfini's, who claimed the Saxons were rebellious Germans, who had been banned to Transylvania by Karl the Great, or the idea the they were the descendants of Ghothes and Dakers who had settled in the area during the mass exodus. In the early 17th century an English writer claimed that the Transylvanian-Saxons were the descendants of the children abducted by the Pied Piper of Hamelin, (the figure of a children's tale), who had led the children to Transylvania through an underground tunnel (Kroner, 1997). In reality, as has been shown, they were settlers, mainly from different parts of Germany and Luxembourg, who were tempted by promises of personal rights and allowances to leave their mother country behind, in order to establish a new life in an underdeveloped country.

The different groups of settlers arriving in Transylvania did not even choose the name for their new group, they were classified by the Hungarians as "Saxons" as a way of indicating their German origin. For those "Saxons" settling on the

"Königsboden" this association would prove very important as it stood for their privileges that had been granted to them.

The devastation and depopulation of their towns and villages during the invasions by Tartars and Turks necessitated new influxes of settlers while at later stages, Protestants faced with animosity and Catholicisation attempts (eg in the Habsburg Empire) also found a new home in Transylvania. This makes void any arguments for a homogeneous Saxon group, although the class system and separated structure particularly in the Saxon villages did not necessarily mean easy acceptance or integration.

Changing governments in Transylvania

A further aspect that makes it interesting to look at the Saxons in terms of "group classification", is the changing government situation of Transylvania, and also the other two main ethnic groups they shared their home with, and whose development of nationalism or group consciousness was rather contrasting; the Hungarians, who scholars like Seton-Watson have described as one of the "old" nations and the Romanians, who whilst also divided between different political units until the point of unification, had no such early group identity.

While the corporate state system and government under the Ottoman Empire meant that there were no conflicts between the different groups that can be described as ethnically-motivated, the situation changed during the rule of the Habsburg Empire, particularly with the introduction of German as the official language (a measurement that was heavily criticised by the Hungarians, although it was not nationally motivated but rather an attempt to remove Latin from its function as an administrative language by the enlightened Emperor Joseph II).

As was the case with other nationalities within the Habsburg Empire, the plans for creating an equal, homogeneous population within its territories (eg a Transylvanian nation) did not meet with the desired approval, as for the Saxons it signalled not just loss of privileges but also reduction to a minority status. However, the most important consequence of the developments of that time is the granting of equal rights to Saxons on the *Komitatsboden*, meaning that rather than just sharing religious and cultural traits, all Saxons could now be be considered as a political entity from that point. While their comparative size in terms of population remained small and their towns and villages were open to residency by other nationalities, there are several

factors that point towards a strong ethnic/national consciousness, as identified in the criteria of the above overview, and while the specific development of the Saxon identity will be discussed in more detail in a following section, the factors (although not entirely shared by Königsboden and Komitatsboden residents) are, the shared Protestant religion relatively early compulsory educational system (and thus high level of literacy across the Saxon population), early common rights for the residents of the Königsboden, as well as the extensive trade with the Orient and Occident.

Kulturnation

Wagner (1990) writes that with the second dissolution of the Nationsuniversität in 1848 and the decision to grant full national rights to the Romanians, the Saxons now felt reduced to being an ethnic and confessional minority from their previous status of being a privileged nation.

This loss of confidence in survival as an independent group, now led to a strong affiliation with Germany that would go beyond a cultural and towards a more political and national identification. The wish to be part of "big" Germany, which like other irredentist national movements, viewed those considered part of their culture as 'lost' and the lands in which they lived as unredeemed (irredenta) which had to be recovered (Smith, 1991), is furthermore understandable in the light of the ideals of the time that rejected the concept of the viability of a "small" nation.

Zach (1995) remarks on the irony that this affiliation would mean eventually: the Saxons did not want to be a minority group after the First World War but their attitudes during the Second-World War, have meant that they have become just that; due, in fact, to their dispersion they now form a minority in the towns and villages of several countries.

However, even at the beginning of German nationalisation there were warning voices from the side of the Saxons, whether a political rather than just a cultural association would be in their best interests, and highlighting the case for a Saxon identity independent to that of a German one. This will be looked at more closely in the section on Identity.

The developments of the early 20th Century have meant that the Saxons are now commonly viewed as a German ethnic minority or a German sub-group, rather than a German Kulturnation, the emphasis therefore being on "German" rather than validity

of an ethnic group in its own right. Given the fact that the majority of the first-generation Saxons and their descendants is now based in Germany, the 'Germanisation' of their identity there, has undoubtedly influenced the attitudes and group consciousness of today's Saxons while the number of those who still actually live in Transylvania is diminishing, so I doubt that this group description will find any revaluation.

However, there is no Transylvanian-Saxon "history" before their settlement in Transylvania, meaning that all their important historical developments have to be in connection with Transylvanian territory rather than their "country" of origin.

Their contact to Germany for many centuries was merely based on receiving educational and cultural impulses (as well as Austria but obviously less strongly after Reformation), and Transylvania was also never part of Germany, meaning that they formed a unique group with their own name, myths, shared history and traditions, which fulfils all the named criteria of an independent ethnic group, the "Transylvanian-Saxons". It is encouraging to see that modern Saxons scholars also seem to be keen to make such differentiations and have sought to undermine the over-emphasis on the Saxons' German identity of the last 120 or so years.

3.0 Identity

3.1 National Identity

While the conclusions to be drawn from the views of the theorists in the sections above, are that nations as well as nationalism are modern phenomena, do the same timeframe criteria apply to the formation of national identity?

According to Seton-Watson's (1977) argument such a group consciousness seems to precede the existence of the modern state or nation, as gives the example of Hungary as a country with national consciousness over several centuries whilst at the same time being subject to foreign rule, and the Hungarian population being divided between three states at one stage. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, he also dates the feeling of being a French or Englishman as far back as the 16th Century. However, while this might provide evidence of a form of identity based on one's home country and its culture, the argument is weakened when considered in respect to what percentage a country's population might have felt that way in times of severe class divisions and lack of general literacy.

In regards to this, Gellner (1983) writes that in pre-industrial times, peasants had no concept of culture, as they took it for granted and it would have therefore been pointless to ask them whether they loved their own culture. Only with the arrival of labour migration and bureaucratic employment did they become aware and then learned to differentiate between someone co-national and somebody hostile to it.

He also points out that in communities, such as the German, Italian, Catalan or Norwegian, only the educated elite would have been aware of their culture and history but were incomplete in their development of national consciousness. This is also relevant to the abovementioned example of Hungary, whose nobility prevented a general Magyarisation until the 1840s, with only the privileged, rather than all Hungarian-speakers able to term themselves "Hungarian" (Anderson, 1983).

While any early feeling of national identity therefore would have been restricted to the upper classes, according to Anderson (1983) the arrival of Protestantism, and its coalition with print capitalism meant that a wider population (particularly those who

had no or little understanding of Latin) could now be mobilised for politico-religious purposes. It furthermore effected the development of a country-wide common language in contrast to regional dialects and slowed the rate of change in languages, giving it a new fixity, meaning that by the 17th Century most European languages had assumed their modern form. Anderson (1983) therefore concludes that while these developments were not conscious nationalist processes, they undoubtedly formed the basis for one.

While it is therefore possible to trace the emergence of national consciousness to a starting-point that precedes the existence of modern nations, such associations were the accidental side-effects of factors such as Protestantism, print-capitalism or growing literacy, and were still restricted to the elites and educated of a country.

Smith (1991) argues that national identity requires a political community, with common rights and duties for all its members in a well-defined territory. This definition, like that of a nation, therefore also points towards the need for modern conditions in order to reach an entire population.

The rise of nationalism saw the active aim to create a shared identity in the entire population whether to unify the people of a state, as a reaction to threat to the existing autonomy within a homeland or with a view to extend existing borders. According to Smith (1991) "national identity is fundamentally multi-dimensional" (p. 14) and he divides these dimensions into external and internal functions, the external being territorial, economic and political[53]. Public mass education, that aims to make citizens and nationals out of a nation's members, is one of the key internal functions, and as the section on nationalist historians has shown, past events can be remodelled to serve the aim of uniting members in the belief that they are part of a long shared history, in order to justify the nation's future. Furthermore, the different classes and individuals are connected through shared values, traditions (as Gellner (1983) has argued these can also be invented or modified by nationalism) and symbols, such as flags, uniforms, anthems or coinage.

[53] The members of a nation live and work in a defined space, that contains objects and places that underline that nation's "uniqueness". Economically, the resources within the homeland are allocated between members of the nation. The political aspect provides the common legal obligations and rights of all members (Smith, 1991).

3.2 Ethnic Identity

While the creation of national identity could largely be seen as the attempt to unify the population within a state and therefore being inclusive in respect to who can become a citizen, ethnic groups have been shown to be exclusive in respect of more strongly defined shared origin, history or religion. Furthermore, ethnic groups also tend to be smaller in terms of population, which might make it likelier for common cultural traits to be shared across its members, although this can also be determined by the existing class structure and general level of literacy and education.

While nationalism is specifically linked to the state in bestowing a feeling of shared national consciousness on its citizens, or seeks political and administrative control over a territory to form a state of its own, this is not necessarily the concern of an ethnic group, although, as has been argued, the development of an ethno-nationalist consciousness can lead an ethnic group to seek to transform itself into a nation and demarcate itself within the geographical boundaries of its 'homeland' (Kellas, 1991).

When an ethnic group pursues such self-determination (besides Eastern Europe and the Middle East, other examples include Ireland, Finland, Catalonia or Brittany), one can detect some similarities in the methods employed to achieve its objectives: if not already in place, the creation of a literary 'high' culture, turning the group into a culturally homogeneous nation, the aim to secure a homeland or independent state and the transformation of a passive ethnic group into an active community (Smith, 1991).

The creation of such a high culture is generally based on the rediscovery of an 'ethno-history', to reinforce the group's uniqueness and unity in respect to its shared origin (descent myth) or right to their homeland. While there are similarities to the construction of a national identity, ethnic identity can be more plausibly derived from common origin, and strengthening the feeling of "exclusiveness". In reality, however, ethnic groups too, admit and integrate foreigners into their community (whether to increase the size of its population after devastation by war or disease, re-settlement or intermarriage with other co-habiting groups), thus also requiring reconstruction or even invention of the past. Smith (1991) writes that in that respect as well, ethno-history is always selective, in remembering some aspects but forgetting others.

If Kellas's (1991) assessment of ethnic politics as concerned with the protection of a group's existing rights within the areas it inhabits, and in this sense, defensive, as a general one, then one needs to consider what might trigger a change towards a proactive pursuit of political control over a territory. The root for such a development can often be traced to the political and nationalist directions the 'home rule' within a group's state takes: this has been particularly the case in Eastern Europe since the eighteenth century, notably during the period of ethnic self-determination (Smith, 1991). In an attempt to integrate and homogenise the numerous ethnic groups within their boundaries, the 'official' imperial nationalism employed by the Habsburgs or Romanovs provoked the contrary reaction of the rise of ethnic nationalism. This resulted in the formation of new states and nations but also implicated a change in the immediate situation and chances of future survival of ethnic groups, who had not been able to achieve such independence; not only due to loss of autonomy held up to that point but particularly in their treatment by the new power-rulers.

Extinction of Ethnic Group/Strategies for its Survival

While not all ethnic politics need to result in nationalist quests, obsession with authentic culture and history, has in many cases, led to competition and conflict, particularly in areas where several populations had lived side by side for centuries. In respect to this, it is important to look at the threats facing an ethnic group's existence when confronted by persecution or assimilation attempts by another ethnic group or nation and the perspectives of survival in the light of being driven out of the territory of their homeland.

At the most extreme end is the actively pursued extinction of an ethnic group by either the state or another ethnic or religious group, genocide and ethnocide, which seeks to limit and ultimately annihilate the members of a group. However, according to Smith (1991) the organised massacre of an ethnic group often has the reverse effect, instead of killing a group, the members of the ethnie are only more encouraged in maintaining their cultural traditions and ethnic identity, in fact triggering a revival of ethnic consciousness, such as in the case of the Aborigines or Romany Gypsies.

The loss of homeland through war or other catastrophic events or a severe change of regime seeking to undermine the traditions, religion, language and cultural characteristics of an ethnie can also threaten their future as a group: Smith (1991)

writes that while loss or power and independence can be seen as indicators of the end of one group, it is ultimately cultural absorption and intermingling that dissolves an ethnie completely.

On the other hand, there are examples of ethnic groups, who despite living outside their "homeland" have succeeded to exist as a group for centuries and even millennia, the most obvious example being that of the Jews[54].

While it could be tempting to conclude that religion is the sole or most important factor in ensuring an ethnic group's survival outside their homeland, Smith (1991) points out that it depends on its ability to modernise and encourage the vitality of the group, as an approach that is too conservative may deaden it or reduce it to a shell of its original identity, which will only appeal to small proportion of the overall group.

He mentions four main catalysts to ensure the self-renewal of an ethnic group, those being religious reform, cultural borrowing, popular participation and myths of ethnic election[55] (p.35-36).

Larrain (1994) writes that while the decline of the nation-state as well as globalisation in modern times have affected national identities and allegiances, universalisation has not eradicated these feelings but in some cases even encouraged stronger reaffirmation among certain ethnic groups and peoples in respect to their specific group identity.

Previously in this chapter, I compared the arguments of primordialists and constructivists in respect to group definition, which ultimately reflects the opposing views on the formation of national identity and how long it has existed. Thus, group identity can be seen as a long-existing affiliation with those of same origin, 'imagination' as a consequence of modern changes in society or a result of deliberate construction. I believe that none of these factors can be excluded from the debate, and while one can only speak of national identity when it is aimed at the inclusion of an entire population, rather than just experienced by its elite, there are several elements that contributed to its development long before the 'official' age of

[54] In their case, the fact that they have been exiled for over two thousand years has become a significant factor in their sense of identity (Smith, 1991), with the land of Israel being viewed as a "symbol of messianic restoration" (p.33), rather than just a homeland.
[55] Such as the Jews and their belief to be "a holy nation", as promised in the book of Exodus. Among the other peoples whose identity has been boosted in this way are the Germans, French, Irish, English, Scots and Welsh (Smith, 1991).

nationalism and thus point towards its existence before it was defined in modern terms.

3.3 Development and Characteristics of Transylvanian-Saxon Identity

Earlier sections have tried to define the Saxons as a group, as well highlighting the most important misinterpretations in their history. While these have shown that they can only be considered as one group after the Saxons of the Komitatsboden gained equal rights to those of the Königsboden, and that much in their history has been "nationalised" or exaggerated in the past two centuries, there are still some strong indicators that point to a relatively early development of a group mentality or identity.

Early Group Identity

Although it has been shown that the general citizenship on the Königsboden did not prevent the establishment of patrician elites, the common rights enjoyed within the area, such as that only Saxons, or later Germans were allowed to own properties within their towns, helped to create an early sense of unity – if initially restricted locally to individual towns and villages – and also more of a middle-class group than would have been the case in a feudal system.

The Saxons were also able to choose their own representatives in respect of religion, politics and judicial positions, and formed political associations such as the Nationsuniversität that concerned itself with issues to maintain and seek the best interests of the group from an early stage.

Roth (2003), whilst critical on the infusion of nationalist interpretation in several examples of Saxon history, agrees that the rights on the Königsboden, and their struggle to maintain them, if only for economic reasons, undoubtedly had the "side-effect" of contributing to an early ethnic conscience in Transylvania's German population.

Gündisch (2005) also points out that sense of community on the Königsboden developed at the end of the Middle Ages, eventually growing into a "people of German mother tongue, with a characteristic dialect of a relics language, similar to that of Luxemburg" (p. 71-72).

A further early example of a developing group identity of the Königsboden Saxons can be found in the speech of the Saxon Count Albert Huet, to defend their rights against the desires of the Hungarian aristocracy: pointing out the achievements of the merchants, farmers and tradesmen, whose tax contributions surpassed those of the other nations, the speech also indicates pride in their German origin as well as a rootedness with Transylvania.

Regarding the class structure of the Saxons, Bernath (1972) writes that they displayed a hostile attitude towards aristocracy from an early stage of their existence and actively forbade their members to accept titles, in order to protect their self-contained group. However, he also points out that there was still evidence of a strict class-system, with just 180-200 patrician families representing "*Sachsentum*" during the 17th century in Hermannstadt[56]. During the second half of the 17th Century, these patricians transformed themselves into a power elite, not only to maintain their inherited wealth, but furthermore misused their leadership posts for financial gain to ensure that the differences between themselves and the lower classes stayed in place. Gündisch (2005) acknowledges the class system of the 16th and 17th century but points out that the common Saxon identity prefers to believe in an early system of equality, where nobody was "lord or servant"(p. 90).

The relatively early conversion to Protestantism in Transylvania greatly aided in uniting the Transylvanian-Saxon population who at the time was still spread out between 'Königsboden' and 'Komitatsboden' as it would be the Church that took the role as state educator. The fact that all Saxons belonged to the Lutherian Church community, while the other ethnic groups followed different religions, reinforced the phenomenon of ethnic groups and religion becoming synonyms in Transylvania.

While Saxon students attended German universities as early as medieval times, it was not until the dissolution of the Königsboden by Joseph II, that the Saxons, whose ethnic conscience had been marked by isolation from other ethnic groups up to that point, now sought to improve its cultural position through adopting ideas of the German national movements. As already shown earlier, the 18th Century's individual ethnic movements, furthermore prevented the establishment of a common

[56] Teutsch (1916) writes that from the 14th to 16th century, there were instances of Transylvanian-Saxon aristocracy, the hereditary dukes. Even though not all of the titles would have been hereditary, they posed a threat to the freedom of the settlers, who had tried to escape this situation by moving to Transylvania. They therefore intervened in order to save their rights in a long and vehement struggle.

Transylvanian identity. Joseph II.'s introduction of German as the official language already indicated future conflicts between the now nationally conscious groups, as the Hungarians protested severely against the 'Germanisation' attempts.

Roth (2003) argues that after 1848/1849, the Saxons had to reassess their status as a minority group identifying economy and culture as their strengths, and thus guarantors for a continued existence, and from then, deliberately expanded in these areas. These included the already highly developed system of education, agriculture, banking but also the different clubs and societies, many dealing with historic research. This in turn led to a strong **historic conscience** as a group identity characteristic.

Gündisch (2005) writes that as clergy and teachers were pre-dominantly educated in Germany at the time, the Saxons' new spiritual and political elite, now combined their democratic demands with nationalist thoughts, a stark contrast to the Habsburgs' system of conservative civil servants.

The Saxon statement to the Frankfurt National Assembly sums up their feeling of identity as: "The Saxons understand themselves to be an honest German people and at the same time honest and faithful citizens of the state, we are part of" (cited in Gündisch, 2005, p.134).

Gündisch (2005) writes that one of the concerns for the Saxons before Transylvania's unification with the Romanian kingdom, was that their Central European identity would be "Balkanised", as well having to overcome the fact that the group that had so far been economically and politically weak, would now be leading ethnie.

Zach (1995) writes that while the Saxons had obviously already experienced being a minority group in an Orientally-influenced state, Hungary, for nearly fifty years, they had felt assured particularly by the fact that the Emperor would function as a guarantor for their rights. Zach (1995) identifies three changes in the established Saxon identity or attitude after 1930: a transition from defensive to offensive politics, a shift from traditionalism to right-wing extremism, and instead of ethnic isolation, an opening up to Germany, leading even to disregard of the state they by then lived in, Romania.

Characteristics of Modern Saxon Identity

As this thesis seeks to look for evidence of Saxon identity within the group of interviewees in Salzburg today, it is necessary to highlight the features of modern Saxon identity just prior to their emigration. As the History chapter has pointed out, the growing relationship with Germany after losing their established status and fear of assimilation were a main factor in developing this, and will be given further attention in the section below.

Protestant religion is perhaps the most obvious common factor that unites the Saxons, not only over a long period of time but also because of the church's role as an educator, meaning it was able to reach the entire Transylvanian-Saxon population regardless of whether a person lived in the village or countryside, or whether their family had wealth or status. The tax rises the Church had to impose after the union with Romania, however, did result in criticism, while there are also examples of disillusionment with religion in the case of mainly town or city residents, which might also be reflective of similar thoughts in other Western circles[57].

In the villages, however, life was still very much subject to the *Nachbarschaften*, brother- and sisterhoods and this system would even be transferred to communities in Austria after the war. This means that while there were obvious benefits to the individual and his family it also required conformity and did not allow for stepping outside the defined rules. This is not meant to imply that there was no **sense of community** in the towns or cities; in fact contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons would be more actively sought after the increase in the number of other nationalities there, and a great number of clubs and interest groups helped to bind the members of the town population together. Roth (2003) writes that the rapid growth of these clubs and societies also meant nationalist thoughts were now passed on to members of all types of social status. These included groups concerned with German literature and culture, Saxon history and traditions, as well as choirs.

In the villages, traditions were connected strongly to the religious holidays and individual saints, with the name day commonly celebrated. While country side residents still mainly used their dialects to communicate with others, only High

[57] The Transylvanian-Saxon scientist and doctor Carl Ungar questions the need for the 'fiction' God or the belief in supernatural revelation, while Alfred Pomarius even claims that the Transylvanian-Saxon identity is more naturally rationalist than religious. Emil Neugeborn explains a Transylvanian-Saxon alienation from the traditional dogma by reasoning that they no longer fit into a modern realm of imagination (Binder, 1983)

German was now spoken in some city families, and where the traditional costumes were still worn regularly in the country side, this was no longer the case in the towns and cities, showing some cultural divide between the two groups.

Gündisch (2005) points out that the Saxons' demand in 1862, to integrate the German residents of the Komitatsboden into their Nation, rather than insisting to maintain their own old rights, meant not only strengthening the **sense of togetherness** as an ethnic group but also allowed for better political representation as a minority in the Landtag[58]. At this time, the term **"Saxon unity"** also gained importance.

The late 19th Century also saw the establishment of the name "Transylvanian-Saxons" in Germany, where they now gained rising levels of familiarity.

Zach (1995) writes that the often so highly emphasised sense of Saxon unity also has negative aspects that would have unfavourable consequences for the group, particularly at the beginning of the 20th Century: a high level of **conformism**, as well as an unwillingness to criticise their own structures or leaders. Furthermore, there were also still elements of ethnic separation and **suspiciousness against anything non-Saxon**.
Petri (2001) highlights the virtues of **diligence**, **thriftiness** and **unity** as elements of their general identity. Fabini's (1987) assessment of Transylvanian-Saxon identity is also particularly interesting to their situation after the Second-World War, as he describes **adaptability** to new situations as an element of Transylvanian-Saxon nature.

"German" Identity of the Saxons?
Teutsch (1916) writes that the German mother country took notice of their "children abroad", the Saxons, as early as the 14th century and also mentions representation of the Saxons and Transylvania, in two German epics of the time. Indeed, there are many examples that show that the Saxons maintained cultural links with the Western culture, specifically through students and apprentices.

[58] However, while the Saxons might have been a minority group compared to the overall population of Transylvania, the Hungarians only held the "majority" in a few areas, hence making the term "minority" itself unsuitable, according to Gündisch (2005), who proposes that "nationalities" should be used instead.

Before the Reformation, Vienna rather than German cities would have been favoured thanks to its geographical proximity. Contact with Germany from the 16th Century was reinforced through enabling those who had completed their grammar school education in Transylvania to study at Protestant German universities by awarding them scholarships.

At the same time, though, the Saxons also maintained trade links with the East and South-East, therefore not exclusively focusing on Western exchange.

Teutsch (1916) comments that the Saxons used the term "German" as an attribute of honour long before by speaking of "German loyalty" or "German honesty" and viewing the defence of their Germanity as their most important task, which seems to be confirmed by judgements and descriptions made by "outsiders"[59]. However, one has to consider that "German" before the 19th Century did not stand for the German Empire yet, and that German identity itself did not develop until then. Therefore, just as the Transylvanian-"Saxons" are not descendant from or specifically linked with Saxony, the term "German" used before the late 19th Century cannot cross-referenced to modern-day Germany or provide proof of German identity in that sense.

According to Roth (1998) the Transylvanian-Saxons did not pay any attention to classifications that would insinuate German identity until the beginning of the 20th century to fit within the newly developed interest and association with all things German.

Roth (1998) writes: "Being over-subtle, one might even say that *the* 'Transylvanian-Saxons' in their own perception, only came into existence during the Mid-19th century: with the introduction of a name for the whole ethnic group, with the assimilation of the term to their dialect, and with the falling into line with the concept of a comprehensive and now clearly perceptible, German national culture. ...The crucial thing is that this image was adapted and carried from the second half of the 19th century no longer just by the political and intellectual elites but also by the Saxon masses." (p. 184)

[59] Opitz called the Transylvanian-Saxons the "most German Germans", Schlözer highlighted the fact that "next to and among Non-Germans they had staid pure and had maintained their full Germanity", while Bismarck called them the "best Germans in Hungary" (Teutsch, 1916). Von Lüpke wrote that Germany ought to learn from the Transylvanian-Saxon model of Church, which would lead to national unity and preservation and strengthening of tradition (Teutsch, 1916).

The emphasis placed on the difference between "Transylvanian-Saxon" and "German", and the importance of maintaining their rights as Transylvanian-Saxons can be seen in the arguments of the so-called "Greens"[60] after the formation of the German Empire.

Schuller (1908) questions the need to stress a Transylvanian-Saxon affiliation to "Great Germany" and the "German culture", arguing this was already and sufficiently in place. Considering the suggestion of a political affiliation, Schuller (1908) compares this to the Transylvanian-Saxons turning themselves into "a political donkey, which pulls the Great-German lion skin over his head, hoping to make an impression" (cited by Möckel, 1994, p. 137).

Köber (1992) argues that the Reformation in Transylvania was the essential contribution to form the national identity of the Transylvanian-Saxons, as it meant the division from the Catholic Universal Church and the introduction of German during Mass. The fact that the **Saxon** Nationsuniversität organised the reformation in Transylvania is a further indication according to Köber (1992) that there is a difference to Germany.

Roth (1998) points out that until the mid-19th century, the Transylvanian-Saxons referred to their dialect as "detsch", German. With the growing orientation towards Germany, it was suddenly deemed necessary that "high German" should be more prominent in public life, such as at school and in church. The dialect was no longer considered German enough, and it was only then that it was referred to as Transylvanian-Saxon.

Scheiner (1908, cited by Möckel, 1994) makes an even bigger distinction between Germany and the Transylvanian-Saxons, by arguing that, would their national consciousness be German, they might have been a new German colony, not a nation with a history of seven-hundred years. It is this shared history that distinguishes the Saxons from all other groups and nations, including the German one.
The Saxons do not entirely identify with Germany, according to Köber (1992), as while they understand themselves to be part of the German culture, they primarily see themselves as Transylvanian-Saxons.

[60] A group within the Saxon political representatives who felt that there was too much willingness to compromise with the Hungarian government on the side of their opponents, the "blacks".

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from the above discussion; firstly, that there is strong evidence for an early Saxon identity, thanks to historic and social development factors, which also match the conditions identified by theorists in respect to the development of national identity. The uniqueness of this identity is made up of a number of components, most of which are long-existing rather than new trends, although special exception needs to be made in the case of its 'Germanisation'. The reasons for this over-emphasis on German identity have been clearly given in this and the previous chapter and while this aspect of Saxon identity has undoubtedly remained strong in the minds of some, its importance should have significantly decreased. The validity of this last statement will finds its assessment in the Conclusion chapter.

3.4 Immigrant Identity

Ritivoi (2002) writes of immigrant identity in connection with nostalgia (in the sense of homesickness, derived from the Greeks terms of nostos = return, algia = pain), a condition that was viewed as an illness for over 150 years, from the mid-eighteenth century.

She writes that the experience of immigration (which, while always involving a separation from one's home, can also often mean loss in terms of home, language or familiar environment) can have such an impact on the individual that even a return to one's former country, city, or family home might not compensate or consolidate for this experience properly.

For Ritivoi (2002), the ability to adjust to a completely new environment, potentially lessens the significance of "home", and raises a number of questions with regards to self-identity[61].

Brass (1979) points out that one has to consider multilingual societies where people might be speaking several dialects or languages, the changes in religious identification, or the fact that even one's place of birth or kinship ties might not always

[61] "If we can start fresh elsewhere – and there are numerous indications that many of us can – is it reasonable to believe that we belong someplace? And if we don't belong anywhere in particular, is homesickness a fleeting emotion, like so many others we manage to overcome in a lifetime? Is "home" a conventional notion? Is personal identity shaped by a specific community or can it be transplanted to other communities as well?" (p. 3).

have positive connections but be viewed indifferently or negatively. In this sense, millions of people have deliberately left their country of origin to settle abroad and to adapt to a new society and while many might still have some form of attachment to their old home, others have lost the sense of emotional identification with it (Brass, 1979).

Aciman (1999) comments on the fact (in the case of foreigners living in English-speaking countries, but certainly applicable to other examples as well) that it is true to say that most immigrants still speak (in his argument) English with an accent many years after they moved to the country "as though an accent didn't betray just the body's inability to adapt or to square away the details of a naturalisation that should have been finalised decades ago" (p. 11). This will add to the feeling of exile of not just a "state of being away, as much as the impossibility of ever not being away" (p.10), indicating that while it might be possible to adapt to a new culture to a certain extent, it would be impossible to leave all traces, memories and attachment to the old "home" behind, no matter how you feel about your new, or indeed old home[62].

Identity issues of immigrants in Austria, directly after the war.

Lendl (1957) writes specifically about the refugees and immigrants in Austria after the Second-World War: he points out that while German speakers formed the majority of refugees in Austria, it is important to differentiate between the individual groups of Sudeten Germans, German-speakers from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, as well as the Banat Swabians and Transylvanian-Saxons. Furthermore, these groups need to be looked at separately, as their legal status differed widely, with some of them having Austrian or German nationality, while others were still 'displaced persons'. Even the attitudes towards gaining nationality rights are dissimilar, according to Lendl (1957)[63]. He also argues that most of the refugees and immigrants came to Austria for the specific purpose of seeing it as the remainder of a wider home territory, which could result in disappointment when the romanticised view that they might have held of Austria was unfulfilled by the country they encountered after the Second-World War.

[62] Simic (1997) comments that immigration is "a terrific opportunity to get away from everything one has always secretly disliked about the people one grew up with" (p 129)

[63] While an Austrian or German passport was a desirable document to own for the Sudeten Germans, those from the South-Eastern multi-national states seemed to value it less.

On a more general level, Lendl (1957) describes the difficulties and psychological influences affecting most refugees: the local population is likely to have little understanding or empathy for their background and plight, which adds to the lack of knowledge of the local language, economic and every-day difficulties the immigrants might have encountered, making integration harder. Every refugee goes through a process of "flight psychosis" (p. 136) according to Lendl (1957), the length of which is also determined by the time it takes to overcome the problems mentioned above. Very often, this can also lead to a glorification of the immigrant's old life and home, sometimes even certain periods of time[64].

Furthermore, it is also difficult to generalise on the amount of time it takes for an immigrant to become settled, as this is influenced by such components as the level of social change they have to go through, as well as their age[65].

Immigrant identity 50 years after re-settlement

Schulze (2002) describes the effects on the identity of ethnic German immigrants (in his case, those who had born east of the Oder-Neisse line) 50 years after their resettlement in Germany, arguing that despite their successful integration, which makes them "appear just like the natives" (p. 41), their old life and what has been lost as a consequence of their flight or expulsion has retained a significant bearing on their consciousness. While he restricts himself to experiences of the first generation, and does not go into details about how their children and grandchildren view themselves in respect to their own identity, he writes that his interviewees placed a high emphasis on their children's education, as, without connections, money or influence in their new environment, it was the only thing that they could pass on to them.

Schulze's findings show several examples of how the interviewees of his study have retained links to their 'old' home, through practising traditions, using recipes from their region of origin, speaking their specific dialect to each other and visits to their hometowns. Initial treatment by the local population led some of the immigrants to

[64] for example Hungarian refugees who had left just after the Second-World War idealised the time between the two wars, or even before 1918, while those who had left after the October Revolution of 1956, have a completely different political view or ideal of the state (Lendl, 1957).

[65] According to Lendl, there are three groups: the eldest, who never integrate, the mature ones, who take at least a decade and the young ones, who tend integrate within a few years. While economic and social success can deepen and speed up the process of integration, it should not be seen as a general indicator, as the mental instability of the refugee can even affect those who quickly achieved economic success.

reinforce feeling of superiority of their own group over the natives; in comparison to them, they felt they were more educated, on a general level but also more knowledgeable about German traditions and history. Overall, Schulze (2002) concludes that even after 50 years of settling in the new town, and despite of successful political and economic integration, the assimilation process of his interviewees has not been completed; and that while most of them are now able to view the place they live in as a 'home', they cannot extend this feeling of connection to describe themselves as 'locals'.

Conclusion

The above section has highlighted the issues on identity of immigrants, and has shown, that regardless of integration in a new environment, regardless of the cultural closeness to one's new country of settlement, how difficult or even impossible it is to let go of the attachment to one's old home. However, this has only been applied to the first generation, and not how the strong association of parents can affect their children, let alone grandchildren, and it is in that respect, that this thesis seeks to be different; by putting more of a focus on the consequences that result to younger generations' self-definition in the inability of their elder relatives ever completing the process of their flight psychosis. The below section will now show, in my hypotheses, how I have made my research aims to specifically test evidence of younger generations' affiliation to the Saxons as a group, drawing also on the characteristics of modern Saxon identity, as outlined earlier in this chapter, as well as in the light of the Saxons' long history.

4.0 Conclusion and Hypotheses to be tested

The previous chapter on History has shown how a group of individual families of mixed geographical backgrounds, succeeded in setting up villages and towns, maintaining and quickly updating 'German' traditions, as well as placing high emphasis on schooling and the rights of the individual from early on. Furthermore, there are the well-documented struggles against attacking Eastern armies, as well as the fights to maintain their rights throughout the changing times and administrative rulers of Transylvania. From a point of theories considered in this chapter, there are, therefore many positive indicators towards the case for a long, consistent, shared national identity. However, when considered against the potential manipulation by national historians, wishing or instructed to find evidence of such a strong and preferably early display of group identity then it is easy to see, that when sticking to the historical facts only, it is possible to derive theories of nationalist motivation behind some of the actions; but there is hardly any factual evidence to make a convincing argument for those actions having taken place for nationalist rather than pure survival reasons of individual towns and villages.

However, how important is it to be able to say whether the Saxons had a sense of national identity earlier than they in fact might have done? Again, when looking at the time of the rise of nationalism, one could draw the conclusion, that it was extremely important: the Saxons having lost many of their exclusive property-ownership and other rights, were now facing the danger of being "swallowed up", first of all by the Hungarian and then by the Romanian national policies aimed at eradicating minority groups. Given also the rising disillusion and criticism aimed at religion, as well as the Church losing control over its role as educator, it is easy to understand why stories of a long and successful history that would highlight the Saxons' key characteristics of identity throughout, would have a wide appeal in towns as well as villages, and install a sense of importance and protectiveness to the survival of 'the small group' into the individual. However, the enthusiasm for these past achievements also included an exaggeration of their closeness to Germany outside the interest in cultural aspects: while it was common for students to attend university in Germany, they were expected to speak their Transylvanian-Saxon dialect upon their return, rather than High German. This behaviour changed towards the end of the 19th century, when it became more widespread amongst families in the cities to converse in German,

rather than a dialect. While some individuals expressed concerns about the stronger links to Germany, to others it was the best strategy for preserving their identity. It seems paradox that joining their "mother country" in two World Wars, would ultimately lead to the dispersion of the group; up to that point in their history, the Saxons had only ever defended themselves against attacks from others threatening their way of life, homes and religion; now they were taking part in invasions on behalf of a country that they might have felt some connection with, but which, beyond strategic advantages and number of soldiers gained, had very little interest in their home. When Romania ended its allegiance with Germany, and North Transylvania was evacuated, it ultimately led to the creation of two Transylvanian-Saxon groups; those who remained in Transylvania and those who tried to create a new home, mainly in Austria or Germany. Settling in the new environment meant changes to their lives on a number of levels, but the early formation of Transylvanian-Saxon *Landsmannschaften* and cultural groups also meant that traditions and identity were not left aside and even gained in importance as this now became one of the few connection points to their old home. In Transylvania, in the meantime, a large number of people had been transported to Russia into labour camps, and while many of them returned and the figure of Transylvanian-Saxons in South Transylvania in the 50s and 60s was still considerable, they had to adapt to a completely new way of life too, as they were suddenly at the lower end of society, with many experiencing raids and loss of their properties, while seeing the familiar towns and villages, vineries and landscape becoming industrialised; desolate and bearing little resemblance to the places they had grown up and lived in. However, before the waves of emigrations in the 70s and after 1989, there were still young families, children being born, and perhaps a chance at slowly rebuilding a Transylvanian-Saxon group in Transylvania.

A variety of Saxon 'identities'

Looking at the circumstances that both groups had to live with immediately after the war, the question as to which one of them still had the 'more authentic' Saxon identity is more difficult to answer than it might seem at first glance: of course, those Saxons who were still in Transylvania continued to live in their familiar places, were able to speak in their dialect and were more likely to mix only with other Saxons, rather than other German nationals. However, they were also restricted in following their traditions through the suppression, and therefore not able to live a 'normal Transylvanian-Saxon' identity anymore.

Roth (2003) writes that in the case of the South Transylvanian Saxons after the war, the major change to their existence was the now imposed limitations on contact and exchange with Germany and the West, which had been a key part of their society and culture since medieval times.

In Austria, on the other hand, while the Saxon refugees sometimes encountered hostility and lack of understanding from the locals, they also were able to organise themselves in groups remarkably quickly, and with support and aid from church and charitable organisations, and through their own determination, they built several Protestant churches, closed and mixed settlements, in which former communities were able to stay together. With a steady increase in earnings and disposable income they were able to concern themselves again with following traditional recipes, making costumes for dancing organisations, and most importantly, for some, planning their first journey back to Transylvania. For most Saxons who had left, a decade or more would pass before they would return to their home again, and in doing so, be reunited with their family and friends, who had remained there. While they had been able to communicate with them over the years, it is difficult to imagine what impact such reunions had on both groups. In both cases every individual's identity had been affected, most likely through loss on several levels; loss of family and friends, either through war or separation from them, loss of wealth, property and material goods, and loss of freedom for those who were still in Transylvania and subject to numerous checks and controls.

When considering the waves of immigrations in the past 30 or 20 years of individuals leaving Transylvania in order to join their families in the "West" or younger families deciding to move there (for much of the same reasons that their ancestors would have come to Transylvania in the first place - to give their family a better income and their children a better future outlook), it is easy to detect the emergence of a "third Transylvanian-Saxon group". However, this phenomenon is overall restricted to Germany, due to the benefits and rights available to "Aussiedlers" there, and while it should be hoped that the integration into the "old" society of Transylvanian-Saxon immigrants would be an easy and natural process, this has not always been the case, with some of the older settlers considering the new ones almost as foreigners, and just like immediately after the Second-World War, doubts are expressed that these 'Romanians' could actually be part of German culture. The 'newcomers' on the other hand, might feel that they still can lay greater claim to being 'more' Saxon than those, who have lived outside Transylvania for the past sixty years, but also have to

put up with accusations from those who still choose to live in Transylvania that they have 'abandoned' their country and identity and with it the last bit of hope that a Transylvanian-Saxon community will survive beyond the next 20 years. Although "Aussiedlers" are not relevant to my own research in Austria, I wanted to use this point to highlight how difficult it is to define a "Transylvanian-Saxon" identity today. While it might seem obvious to restrict such an identity to only those who were born and live in Transylvania, this criterion, in my opinion, started to lose its significance at the time of the North-Transylvanian evacuation and even more so, through the emigration waves of the past 30 years.

4.1 Hypotheses to be tested

The aim of my research is to discover evidence of Transylvanian-Saxon identity today in interviewees living or originating from the area of Salzburg and, whether, despite the fact that there are now as many as four generations of people of Transylvanian-Saxon descent living in Austria, there is still a feeling of identity and association with Transylvania, that can be found across all generations, albeit at varying levels. However, it is obviously not sufficient to just ask people to confirm whether they feel they are Transylvanian-Saxon or not. Therefore, based on the findings derived from the History and this chapter, I will test their views of what constitutes a Saxon identity and compare them with the ones of the historians and scholars described. As will be seen in the chapters analysing the results for each group, in some cases I can draw comparisons to previous studies and papers that have been written on the subject of integration and identity of mainly the first generation in Austria since the Second-World War. The second and third generations' views on identity have not been researched to the same extent yet, which means that the hypotheses for those two groups are less defined in terms of what can be expected.

Another area that has so far escaped the attention of other scholars is the impact demographic factors, such as a city/countryside, wealthy/ non-wealthy or academic/non-academic background, can have on an individual's identity as an immigrant. This specific question will only be tested on the first generation interviewees. As the existing studies on the first generation that I will use to compare my findings seem to have exclusively concentrated on individuals of a countryside/farming and non-academic background, all the first generation

interviewees that were selected for this study are of a city, wealthy and/or academic origin.

In the formulation of my hypotheses below I will now define in greater details the questions I want to test through my research, including briefly the expectations I have in terms of results and for which area specified. In the 'Results' chapters, these expectations will be considered at a more in-depth level by an assessment of background research available on the individual aspects. These previous findings will also aid me in drawing my overall conclusions for my own research and to verify my hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1:

The identity of the Transylvanian-Saxons has survived several threats to its existence during the shared history in Transylvania and the group's dispersion, as well as influences from different cultural groups. There should be evidence of some level of Transylvanian-Saxon identity not only amongst the first generation but also subsequent generations, who will value being part of such an 'important' group.

This part of the research will only look at the confirmation that there is an overall feeling of Transylvanian-Saxon identity among the majority of interviewees from all the generations.

However, it is important to remember with regards to this question, that while there are certain factors that the majority of people will associate with national identity (nationality of parents, place of birth, community in which one grows up in, traditions, religion, cultural traits...), it is the individual who defines and associates him- or herself with a national identity for varying reasons and having identified their own explanations as to why they feel or want to feel part of a culture.

In my research findings, there will be examples of people who believe they have been born into their national identity, people who feel that they might have been born into a national identity but circumstances (such as the country and culture they grew up in) might have influenced their wish to have a national identity different from their parents and finally people, who feel that they can identity with two or more cultures as a matter of choice and interest. Nationalism has had negative connotations because of the results it can produce at its extreme end, ever since its beginning and spread. National identity, however, should be felt with pride for the achievements of a culture without the need to feel better or stronger than another country or culture. It is possible to understand, appreciate and feel the national identity of more than one culture, and if one can do this by choice there is a great potential to learn from each culture's history, religion and traditions.

Hypothesis 2:

> The key elements of contemporary Transylvanian-Saxon identity are the strong sense of community, preserving a German culture, an interest in Saxon history, following Saxon traditions and a Protestant belief. The use of a specific dialect, while still an important distinguishing feature compared to other groups, is lessened in its value for examining identity today, as there was a number of Transylvanian-Saxons who did not speak such a dialect whilst still living in Transylvania, and the fact that the interviewees researched live in a German speaking country. Therefore, while the use or knowledge of a Saxon dialect are relevant to the overall assessment and conclusion, the factors to be tested in considering evidence of a continued Transylvanian-Saxon identity will focus on the other elements identified.

Unlike the first hypothesis, this question looks directly for evidence of a 'shared' identity among the interviewees: are there any aspects of the 'traditional' Transylvanian-Saxon identity that are still considered important or relevant, and have they been passed on through all the generations. As the interviewees have not been asked directly whether they see the above named characteristics as typically Transylvanian-Saxon, it will also be possible to draw a conclusion whether and what aspects of Transylvanian-Saxon identity might no longer be relevant today and why.

However, less tangible characteristics of a culture, such as values or personality traits, might be difficult to assess as to how widespread they are, whether they can be genuinely part of a national identity, or are nationalist myth, forced by historical circumstances or a misinterpretation by national historians, and given the modern climate, it might seem impossible or extremely difficult to pass them on; indeed they might have become dated or unacceptable in today's world.

Hypothesis 3:

Identity will be expressed and defined differently by the generations tested: First generation have maintained their Transylvanian-Saxon identity and are most likely to share the traditional values of a Transylvanian-Saxon identity, such as togetherness with other members, strong sense of religion and are more likely to be married to another Transylvanian-Saxon, plus show greater knowledge of achievements in history and sense of pride.

Members of the second generation have a mixed sense of identity due to Transylvanian-Saxon parents and childhood in Austria. They will show varying degrees of involvement with other Transylvanian-Saxons, groups and interest in their family's culture.They are the most confused group in terms of describing their identity.

Youngest generation are more likely to feel Austrian, although might feel connection to Transylvania through grandparents' stories, family traditions or travel to Transylvania.

This hypothesis could be seen as a combination of the results of the previous two, with the emphasis on a distinction between the ways different age groups experience their identity and the reasons that they have for feeling that way. It seems obvious that there will be a variation in the strength of association towards Transylvanian-Saxon culture and identity expressed by the three different groups, as they have encountered them in different circumstances and varying levels of importance with regards to their personal life. Therefore, it can be expected that the first generation will, as an overall group, show the strongest level of Transylvanian-Saxon identity and knowledge about Transylvanian-Saxon culture, as it was once part of their everyday life and they might feel justified in claiming that their national identity is completely Transylvanian-Saxon.

This does not mean that the second or even third generation did not experience Transylvanian-Saxon culture on a regular, or even daily basis, but if they did it would always have been outside Transylvania or on holiday visits. Also, the fact that the majority of second and third generation interviewees were born in Austria and one parent of some of the youngest generation's members is Austrian, might further

influence the definition of their own identity but not necessarily mean that this might lessen the overall conclusion for the future existence of the Transylvanian-Saxons in Austria.

Hypothesis 4:

Transylvanian-Saxon immigrants from a city/wealthy/academic background have experienced and dealt with the challenges of settling in Austria since the Second-World War differently. This also means a distinction between the groups in terms of their national identity and attitudes to their loss of home.

This aims to go beyond the common feelings a group of people might have when faced with a situation such as the loss of their home country. Of course it can be accepted that each person's reaction could vary depending on their personality or attitudes, but this hypothesis tests the argument that there is a distinctive difference in the experience and attitude in solving new problems and situations by different demographic groups. The aim of this examination, however, is not to derive a conclusion that either group has suffered more than the other, but show how demographic backgrounds can lead to a different experience of immigrant identity.

4.2 Outlook to following Chapters

Today, we see the presence of various ethnic and religious groups in many states of the world with different attitudes towards passing on and maintaining their national identity and culture to children and grandchildren born outside the homelands. Again, it is the most extreme attitudes towards them as well as the most ardent examples of those immigrants refusing to integrate for fear of losing their original identity that seem to be at the centre of the debate. Therefore, the majority of those integrating and maintaining their identity, which they accept as something that needs to change with the times and circumstances, rather than be a set of rules or traditions that should be followed for the sake of it and without questioning their history, origin and the potential of manipulation for nationalist ideals, might not feature as prominently in news and debates.

While the involvement, interests and opinions of my interviewees concerning their Transylvanian-Saxon identity differs widely, it is the 'mainstream' view that I seek to represent rather than only those, who have a particularly strong interest or involvement in the representation and future of the Transylvanian-Saxons as this would lead to biased results. In my next, brief chapter on the methodology of my research, I will discuss the selection process I used for choosing my interviewees and why I believe these methods can already indicate some preliminary findings on the existence of a Transylvanian-Saxon group identity in Salzburg.

Methodology

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I look at the research methods available to test the hypotheses generated in the previous one. In order to determine which ones are the most suitable for the results I seek to achieve on the basis of my hypotheses, I start the chapter with an overview of the methods available before explaining my reasons for selecting the chosen forms of research.

2.0 Research methods

There are five main types of research that can be used to examine the views of a living group, namely questionnaires, interviews, focus groups, diaries and observation studies. However, these methods vary enormously in their ease of application, time constraint, reliability and effectiveness. An assessment of each option also highlights the danger of bias by the interviewer when analysing the data gained from each method, which I will later consider and evaluate with respect to my own research.

2.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires are particularly advantageous to the research of a large group of people; they are completed by the participants themselves, meaning a high number of responses can be generated simultaneously. These make them an effective method for collecting quantitative data and demographic information about the participants, and enable the researcher to interpret the results objectively and clearly. However, they are less useful for qualitative research that requires an individual to express their views on a subject in their own words: he/she might misinterpret the researcher's question in terms of context and/or detail, and respond to a question, to which the researcher might have expected several sentences with a single word answer. Questionnaires are also less suited to testing a person's knowledge unless the researcher supervises the completion process.

On the other hand, giving a participant time to think about the questions could produce well-thought-through answers rather than just reflecting the first thing that comes to an interviewee's mind. If questionnaires are distributed and depend on the participants' initiative to complete and send them back, it is impossible for a researcher to control the number of questionnaires that are returned and therefore the sample that has been selected.

2.2 Interviews

In contrast to questionnaires, interviews are far more time-consuming for the researcher, especially if they are to be conducted with individuals rather than with a group, as the interviewer needs to arrange a meeting with each person. This makes it difficult to collect data from a large number of people over a short period of time.

Unlike questionnaires, the researcher has to record the interviewees' answers himself, and transcribe them afterwards, thus turning it into an even lengthier process. Generally, the interview method is more suited to conducting qualitative research, as the interviewer can 'guide' the participants in the way he/she would like questions to be answered and ask them to expand on their response if it is necessary. However, this also means that the interviewer might, subconsciously, or not, manipulate the participant's answer and opinion. Furthermore, interviewees may feel pressurised, as they are expected to respond to a question straight away. There is also a danger of bias in the analysis of the results, as it might be impossible to represent them statistically. As it is unlikely that a word for word account of each participant's answer to every question will be given, the researcher subjectively selects the aspects he judges to be important or relevant to his study. However, where quantitative data can be derived from interviews, the researcher is more likely to find an explanation for certain trends in the qualitative answers of his interviewees; whereas quantitative results in questionnaires might require some speculation in their analysis.

2.3 Focus Groups

Unlike interviews with individuals, focus group research generates answers or opinions of several people in one session, as they discuss a topic, while the researcher acts as moderator in the debate. This means that specific tendencies or common views can be detected immediately. Unlike in other methods of research, the participants can react to other people's views rather than just expressing their own, potentially adding new dimensions to the subject area. Not every participant, though, will make an equal contribution to the discussion, and those less confident or knowledgeable might be inclined to conform to the view of the majority, which could make it difficult to draw an objective conclusion from the results.

2.4 Diaries

Diaries can also provide a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data, although their reliability may vary on whether the interviewee or the researcher completes them; they can be helpful for gaining information about a participant prior to an interview and formulate questions specific to these findings; however, depending on the frequency and details required to complete such a journal, a participant might get bored with completing it as truthfully or diligently as planned and required. Generally, this form of research is most suitable for recording changes in behaviour or attitudes over a certain time span.

2.5 Participant Observation

While participant observation studies are time-consuming and require a certain level of practise to be employed successfully, they can reveal results the researcher would be unlikely to gain otherwise; here, the researcher records people's actions and behaviour in certain situations and can therefore find out if participants act as they say they would in a specific scenario. This method could also be used to research a community, which not only might take several months or even years, but is often unstructured in respect to what exactly the researcher is looking for before starting the observation. While visual and audio devices might be used to record the research, the findings will still be analysed in a strongly subjective way by the researcher. Also, there is no guarantee that participants will behave completely 'naturally', when they know they are being recorded or 'tested' by somebody else, emphasizing the time effort that would be necessary to give an objective view on the person or people observed.

3.0 Methods used for Primary Research –Objectives to be considered

Below I will now discuss the reasons for using the research methods I selected to test my hypotheses and why they are the most appropriate for achieving the results that I am aiming for in my primary research. As the sample size chosen can also determine which methods are best suited for conducting the research, I will first look at the number of participants chosen for my study and furthermore, the way they were selected, which, as will be seen, is also significant to my findings.

The objectives of my hypotheses were to confirm the evidence of a feeling of Transylvanian-Saxon identity amongst the research group, which was subdivided into three generation sets. Furthermore, the research needed to show how each interviewee regarded his/her identity, in order to compare the three generations.

Each interviewee was asked about the kinds of Transylvanian-Saxon traditions that he or she still follow in order to discover if there are elements of identity that can be passed on through several generations. The hypothesis specifies a number of factors that have been considered to be part of a Transylvanian-Saxon identity, meaning that the findings gathered need to be compared to those pre-defined factors.

Finally, research in the first generation group was to prove that their demographic backgrounds have influenced their immigrant identity, with every member of this group showing one or more of the following characteristics: being a city dweller, an academic or from a wealthy background. These findings were then to be tested against previous research that describes the identity and immigration experience of those of opposite or dissimilar demographic characteristics.

3.1 Selection and Number of Interviewees

As can be seen from the above, only the first generation group had to fulfil a wider set of specifications, meaning they had to be selected on the grounds of living or having lived in the county of Salzburg, having grown up in Transylvania as a member of a Transylvanian-Saxon family and matching at least one of the demographic criteria required.

The second generation interviewees needed to be the child of at least one Transylvanian-Saxon parent (as it turned out in all cases, both parents of all the second generation interviewees were from Transylvania), while the third generation interviewees needed to have at least one second generation parent. While all the interviewees had to have some connection to the Salzburg area, it was deemed that it was not essential for them to live there now, as a number of the third generation no longer live with their parents or in Salzburg (mainly because of further education).

While the number of interviewees (16 first generation, 16 second generation and 20 third generation participants) chosen might seem too small a sample to draw conclusions for a whole minority group, I think it is sufficient to reflect comprehensively on different kinds of feelings of identity and opinions. This is particularly true for the second- and third generation members in which some clear trends can be recognised. While the first generation interviews were conducted to find out more about individual experiences, some general conclusions with regards to attitudes can also be drawn.

As identity is ultimately a reflection on an individual's thoughts and feelings, it might even be considered preferable to keep the sample size small and manageable in order to give more detailed and thorough findings and results.

Ritivoi (2002) who describes the experiences of two immigrants to the USA writes about the use of fewer rather than more interviewees: "Keeping in mind the Council's observation – that variations in immigrants' experiences defy systematisation – I submit that such recalcitrant variation requires that we also concentrate on the individual immigrant.... Moreover, a sharp focus on the individual can offer insight into the experiences of immigrants in such detail that we will be able to learn much about immigration in general." (p. 2). As the sample size to reflect the attitudes of an overall group and three different age groups individually was not substantial, I was particularly concerned to avoid the over-representation of only a few opinions or attitudes and therefore not accurately reflecting a general view or feeling of identity. In order to achieve a balanced result, I decided against contacting organisations or special interest groups connected with Transylvanian-Saxon culture. In my research, I decided to speak to people in the Salzburg area that I still know from my youth, and asking them in turn to recommend further friends and family members of Transylvanian-Saxon descent. This approach generated a group of interviewees that represented a variety of opinions, ideas and knowledge concerning Transylvania.

This way of selecting interviewees also proves a very important point with respect to my hypothesis concerning evidence of identity and its continuity in form, as it is an early indication that there is still interaction and contact between Transylvanian-Saxons sixty years after coming to Austria.

3.2 Methods used for primary research

Looking at the hypotheses, it seems obvious that the aim of the research is the collection of qualitative data that can be used to test the validity of each. While some of the hypotheses such as the evidence of identity, the influence of demographic factors, or that feeling of identity differs depending on generations, might seem to require just a yes or no answer to confirm or reject them, the explanations given by the individuals and generation groups as to why they feel that way are vital for arriving at an overall conclusion for the group's identity.

In order to assess such personal feelings it is necessary to engage the participants in a discussion, which also allows the researcher to ask for further explanations as to why an interviewee has given a certain answer, thus making interviews the best research method for achieving my objectives. It also means that while the same basic questions are put to each interviewee of a generation group (although, not strictly the first generation group in this research, as will be discussed below), through discussing the answers with each interviewee, the researcher is able to collect a mixture of quantitative (yes/no) and qualitative answers that will aid in assessing the hypothesis in terms of their validity as well as interpreting the implications the qualitative data can have for an overall conclusion.

Therefore, it seems clear that two of the mentioned research methods are not suitable for achieving the desired results, namely questionnaires and diaries.

While they might have perhaps been helpful to employ for preliminary research in order to then discuss their answers with each interviewee, I felt that as I was following a fixed set of questions for two generation groups anyway, it would be more useful to ask the relevant follow up questions after the interviewees had given me their answers to the set questions.

Likewise, a diary might have been an interesting preliminary insight into the participants' daily habits with reference to Transylvanian-Saxon culture[66]. This would have possibly worked better with those living in a fairly closed settlement or the first rather than second or third generations. It would have been interesting in terms of gaining results but still would have only been providing circumstantial or superficial data, as there would have been the danger of people giving an incorrect impression – intentionally or unintentionally – by deliberately doing or logging things that they did not or would not normally do in order to 'help' the research, or by omitting factors, not realising that they would apply to the study.

The elimination of the two methods above left me with the additional options of focus groups and participant observation.

The use of focus group research would have undoubtedly been helpful for highlighting different opinions that the generation groups might have on one subject, or whether views are shared by relatives of all generations in one family. However, I decided against using this method as I was interested to record every individual's opinion on all my questions and in the case of the second and third generation, their knowledge on Transylvanian-Saxon history and culture, without being potentially influenced by somebody else. Furthermore, I was able to draw an overall conclusion for each group from the assessment of the answers to each interviewee's question. Therefore, while I chose not to use focus groups as a main research method, I did interview two people at the same time in two instances; in both cases these were married couples from the first generation group.

Participant observation of an event organised by the Landsmannschaft, would have allowed me to find out how many people and what age groups would attend, whether they offered any Transylvanian-Saxon dishes, played music and songs from Transylvania, or wore traditional outfits. However, while I was unable to do so in the Salzburg area during the course of my research, I have concluded that as this would have been a special event, it would have said something about the general interest, but not reflected every-day life. For this reason, I interviewed two people strongly involved in the Transylvanian-Saxon community, in one case, specifically in Salzburg, and asked them to describe to me their observations. One is the vicar of

[66] I could have, for example, requested interviewees to note down, whether they had been in contact with somebody of Transylvanian-Saxon descent during the day, eaten a Transylvanian-Saxon meal or followed any of the traditions.

the Protestant Church in the Gneis area and the other is vice-president of the "Haus des Deutschen Ostens", in Munich, which is dedicated to the research of ethnic Eastern German groups. To achieve a feeling of the everyday lives my interviewees lead I attempted to meet as many as possible in their own homes and therefore gain an insight of how much importance Transylvanian-Saxon culture and items played in their daily lives, by asking them to point out anything 'Transylvanian' in their home to me.

I was thus able to combine two research methods in most cases, as I was able to speak to more than half of all the interviewees in their own homes. The methods complemented each other very well, as the interviewees were able to show items they were referring to and so presented a more vivid image of the elements that make up their identity. Below, I will now look at the way in which each group was interviewed and how this helped to determine the validity of the hypotheses.

3.3 Methodology – first generation

My first question to all the interviewees of the first generation was why they left Transylvania and how they got to Salzburg. Even though most of the interviewees took longer to answer this single question than some entire interviews with a second- or third generation member, and although it meant that some of the information given included details that were unnecessary, overall, it proved valuable in respect of giving extensive background information. The answers to this single question were, in some cases, sufficient to test all of the hypotheses defined.

From this first main question, it was a natural progression to discuss the interviewees' contact with other Transylvanian-Saxon and Romanian-German refugees in Austria immediately after the war and present day. This proved useful in describing the integration process and any changes to their feeling of identity. Also, some of the interviewees talked about their views of the Transylvanian-Saxon community and Landsmannschaft and thoughts about its future development.

The next section concerns itself with the interviewees' experiences of settling in Austria and the local population, not just the first impressions but also how attitudes have or have not changed over the years. The answers given to these questions were again often suitable to test more than one hypothesis, as the types of traditions

followed and the depth of their involvement with community and organisations, often helped to anticipate whether the interviewees still considered themselves to be Transylvanian-Saxons.

The majority of first generation members I spoke to had travelled back to their hometown or village in Transylvania at least once. I asked them to describe how the Transylvania they remembered from their youth, compared to the one they encountered after the war. In connection with this, I asked most of the interviewees whether they still had family in Transylvania after the end of the war (as the majority of interviewees for this study were originally from South Transylvania), whether they had been able to take any belongings with them and whether they still displayed them, and also if they had made any attempts to either get back property in Transylvania that they had lost and whether their application for compensation had been successful. This helped with the assessment of the way identity might have changed, but particularly how demographic factors influence immigrant identity.

With regards to feelings of identity, I asked a number of interviewees whether they still considered themselves to be Transylvanian-Saxons only, or whether, after living in Austria for nearly 60 years, felt they had adopted aspects of an Austrian identity. Furthermore, I spoke to interviewees about whether they were still trying to follow any Transylvanian-Saxon customs and traditions today. The final section of the first generation results looks at the information and aspects of Transylvanian-Saxon culture that the interviewees have passed on to their children and grand-children.

3.4 Methodology – second generation

I spoke to 16 interviewees, all of which had grown up in Salzburg and except for three, still live there. Whereas the majority grew up in the city of Salzburg, a fifth of the interviewees spent their youth in Sachsenheim, Elixhausen[67]. I asked every interviewee the same 10 questions: first of all, I asked them to tell me whether they felt they had differed in any way from Austrian children when growing up in Salzburg and whether their memories of the time were mostly positive or negative. As not all of the interviewees grew up in closed Transylvanian-Saxon communities, I also thought it important to find out whether their parents had tried to encourage the second

[67] One interviewee moved from Salzburg city to Elixhausen, and two others who grew up in Elixhausen, moved away although their families still live there.

generation in any way to socialise with other Transylvanian-Saxon children or families, rather than Austrians. The first two questions were therefore not just useful in trying to establish an element of Transylvanian-Saxon identity within the second generation, but also how their experiences differed from the ones of their parents and first generation. Furthermore, I asked the interviewees to describe to me what sort of things they connected with Transylvania and what they thought was typically Transylvanian-Saxon. This was done in order to test the hypothesis concerning the elements of Transylvanian-Saxon identity and their relevance today. It is my belief that this generation was strongly influenced by the first generation with respect to their identity, and thus thought it necessary to establish to what extent the interviewees concern themselves with Transylvania outside the "duty of wanting to please" their parents or elderly relatives. I asked if they had ever undertaken travel to Transylvania or involved themselves in any activity relating to Transylvanian-Saxon culture, such as joining a club or reading the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper, without being prompted to do so by a member of the first generation. In line with this question I asked the interviewees whether they still had any items in their home that reminded them of Transylvania or the Transylvanian-Saxon background of their family, whether they displayed them and what emotional attachment, if any, there was. I then asked whether the interviewee was still in regular contact with other second generation Transylvanian-Saxons. The latter two questions again tested the continuity of certain elements within the Transylvanian-Saxon identity. There were two questions regarding identity, first of all to give a description of the interviewee's feeling of identity when younger and whether this had changed over the years, and how they describe themselves now. I also asked whether they mentioned their background to any new acquaintances.

As the first generation is now mostly in their 80s, with many having died in the last few decades, the future of the Transylvanian-Saxons in Austria is of a key concern in this study. The future of the Landsmannschaft will depend on the willingness of the second generation to get or stay involved in the management of the individual clubs and the preservation of traditions. I therefore asked whether the interviewee had any intentions of passing on information and traditions to the following generations, even if there were no surviving members of their first generation family, and what they would try to pass on to them. Finally, I enquired whether they thought that there was any future for the Transylvanian-Saxon institute or the Landsmannschaft after the death of the first generation, and in what way, if any they would be willing to contribute to their maintenance.

3.5 Methodology – third generation

I spoke to 20 interviewees, who through their background have a connection to Transylvania as well as Salzburg, in order to follow up the findings from Sutter's study on the subject in the 1970s. This means that all of them must have at least one Transylvanian-Saxon parent (a person whose parents were both born in Transylvania and spent their childhood and at least part of their youth there). While it was decided that it was not necessary for an interviewee from this group to have been born, grown up or currently live in Salzburg, all of the interviewees have at least one blood-relative from either the first or second generation Transylvanian-Saxon group, who still lives in Salzburg. In all but two cases, interviews were also conducted with at least one first and/or second generation relative, in order to compare information and traditions being passed on within families. This was particularly interesting in connection with the hypothesis concerning differences in the feeling of identity experienced by the three generations. Furthermore, there was a number of sibling and cousin interviewees within the third generation-group, which showed how different the feeling of identity as well as knowledge could be among people who shared the same first and second generation relatives as their main source on Transylvania. The third generation group consisted of ten male and ten female interviewees, between the ages of 14 and mid-thirties, with the majority in their early to mid-twenties. I asked interviewees the same questions relating to their knowledge about Transylvania, such as Transylvanian-Saxon history and culture before the Second-World War, the reasons for emigrating during and after the Second-World War, and whether they knew anything about the current situation in Transylvania. One question was whether the interviewee had ever travelled to Transylvania, and if so, their experiences of the visit. In respect to their life in Austria and to test the continuity of 'traditional' Transylvanian-Saxon identity as defined in the hypothesis, I asked them whether they were in contact with others in their age group of Transylvanian-Saxon origin, and whether they discussed any aspects of Transylvanian-Saxon history (or family history) or culture with them. To further test the hypothesis, I asked whether they had noticed any differences between Austrian and Transylvanian-Saxon culture, which I felt was going to be an important indication of the extent to which their first or second generation relatives and contacts were still following specific Transylvanian Saxon traditions and made a point of drawing the attention of their younger relatives to them. With regards to the importance placed on their Transylvanian-Saxon origin to the third generation, I asked whether the interviewees intended to mention this aspect of family history to their own children

and younger relatives and what kind of information they would pass on to them. Finally, I asked the interviewees to tell me whether they felt they had part Transylvanian-Saxon, part Austrian identity or whether they felt to be 100 per cent Austrian and why, which specifically tests the hypothesis that there still is a general level of Transylvanian-Saxon identity experienced today.

3.6 Reliability of Interviewees

In terms of reliability, it has to be said that there is always a danger of an interviewee sensing the answer the researcher would like to hear and responding in that way rather than being absolutely truthful or 'natural'. On the other hand, there is also the possibility of an overly eager researcher 'pushing' an interviewee into the direction, towards the answer they are seeking, or selecting specific quotes that might distort the interviewee's answer or opinion. In order to limit the occurrence of these problems, I presented the interviewees with a mixture of questions requiring them to be knowledgeable as well as opinionated on the subject, which I hoped would minimise the chance of them claiming a false interest or knowledge about something, as this would then have to be confirmed by other questions. In presenting the findings, I have tried to indicate the answer given by every interviewee to each question, which should reduce the risk of researcher's bias in drawing conclusions, as the results should be clear to see to everyone reading the findings.

While conducting this study it was easy to see how employing one research method and looking at one set of results opens the mind to other forms and ways to ask further questions and produce more data to add to the findings, particularly when researching such a complex area as identity. Given that there are also time constraints and a limit to the length of a thesis, it was necessary to not only decide which hypotheses would be the most relevant to achieving the objectives of the study but particularly which methods to use to reach the desired results. I believe that this has been fulfilled by the research methods I have selected and described above, and I will now prove their effectiveness in the next three chapters. As has been mentioned in this chapter, a number of interviewees from one generation were related to other interviewees, either in their own or in the other two generation groups. In order to allow for comparisons between their answers, an overview will be given at the end of this chapter to point out which interviewees are related and in what way. Furthermore, there will be an overview of the most important place names

that the interviewees will refer to, to put their answers into a context that is understandable to somebody unfamiliar with the area of Salzburg.

4.0 Overview of interviewees and places

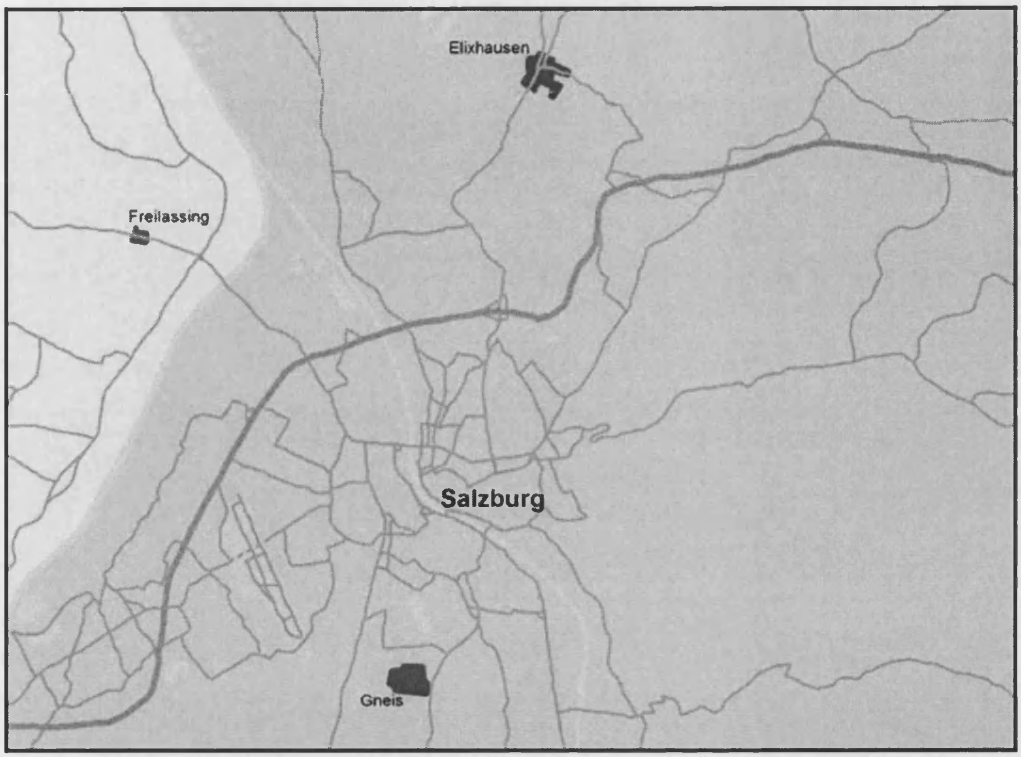

Figure 5 The main Transylvanian-Saxon settlement areas in Salzburg are in Gneis and Elixhausen (Sachsenheim)

At the start of my research I decided against identifying my interviewees by name. The reason for this decision was not due to any of them expressing a concern, but I believe that apart from there not being any real benefits to the reader by naming my interviewees, most of the people I talked to felt more secure and re-assured in being able to stay anonymous. This may have had a conducive effect to the interview as it allowed the interviewee to talk more candidly about their experiences and answer my questions in more detail than they might have done otherwise.

However, as I am presenting my findings in a way that allows every individual to speak rather than giving overall percentages on behalf of the different generation groups, it is in the interest of the reader to attach some kind of identification to each interviewee to allow for easier comparison. Furthermore, I was fortunate to speak to a number of persons who are related to interviewees from other generation groups, in fact, there are three instances where I was able to speak to three families that

provided interviewees covering all three generations and four examples where I managed to talk relatives across two generations.

Each interviewee will be identified by a letter, the first generation by capital letters, A-P, the second generation by small letters, a-p and the third generation by double small letters aa-rr. In the individual results chapters on the three generations further information will also be provided about each interviewee's background, gender and other details relevant to their answers. While I won't 'introduce' every single interviewee in this section, I want to give an idea of their relationship with other interviewees in their own or other interviewee groups in order to aid the reader in understanding the relevance or connection some of the attitudes or answers given might have depending on their family background.

4.1 Family members in all three generations interviewed

The largest family group is made up of interviewees Mrs H and Mrs L in the first generation group, who are sisters-in-law, as Mrs H was married to Mrs L's brother.

There are four relatives featured in the second generation group, Mrs H's daughters, Mrs f and Mrs g, and Mrs L's son and daughter, Mr a and Mrs p, respectively.

Furthermore, there are six relatives in the third generation group, all of which are Mrs H's grandchildren. They are referred to as Mr cc, Mr dd and Miss ee (g's children) and Miss ff, Miss gg and Mr hh (f's children).

The next family group also consists of members represented in each generation group:
Mr. A and Mrs. B are a married couple, with their daughters Mrs. d and Mrs. e represented in the second generation group, along with Mrs. e's husband, Mr. m.

Mrs. d has one daughter who was interviewed for the third generation group, Mrs jj as well as Mrs.e's children, Mrs aa and Mr bb

The last group of relatives across of all three generations, consists of one person each; Mr. P in the first generation group, Mrs. n, his daughter, and in the third generation, Mr. kk, her son.

4.2 Family members in two generations interviewed

There are number of two-generation-family-member combinations, one of a first and second generation member, and three examples of second and third generations who are related. There is no example of just a first and third generation relation-combination.

The first/second generation relatives are Mrs. H and her daughter, Mrs. i.

The first family group of second and third generation relatives, consists of two sisters, Mrs. b and Mrs. j in the second generation, and Mrs. j's son, Mr. oo, in the third generation.

The next group consists of second generation mother, Mrs. h and her two children, Mr ii and Miss pp..

The last group has two second- and two third generation contributors, Mr. k and his sister Miss l, and Mr. k's children, Miss mm and Mr nn.

4.3 Interviewees from one generation only

The largest number of interviewees without relatives in the other generation-groups, can be found in the first generation: 9 people, who were interviewed are not related to anybody in the second or third generation group, while this only applies to two people in the second generation group, and three people in the third generation group.

4.4 Place names mentioned in relation to Transylvanian-Saxon settlements in Salzburg

Almost half of the Transylvanian-Saxons who stayed in the county of Salzburg after the war settled either in the city of Salzburg or close by. The two big communities outside the city, Eichethof and Gneis, were never closed Transylvanian-Saxon settlements, (as was the case in Sachsenheim) but were made up of Austrians, Transylvanian-Saxon and other refugees' families, many of whom spent the first few years in barracks on nearby fields or erected sheds on their newly bought plots whilst

constructing their houses, sometimes over several years. Only a small forest divides the two settlements, meaning a walk of maybe 15-20 minutes. The Eichethof settlement, with 60,000 square metres of land, was once the largest settlement of ethnic Germans in Austria. The majority of these were Danube Swabians, who prior to their move there had lived in barracks in nearby Grödig. Some of the refugees bought the plots with the savings they had left and financed the building work through loans, helping other settlers and doing as much work as possible themselves. Others received support in the form of the "Zentralberatungsstelle", who organised plots for houses to be built through aid from the Neusiedler organisation (a Protestant, charitable, living and settlement organisation, which supported mainly Transylvanian-Saxons) and "Heimat Österreich", which was organised by the Caritas charitable organisation and helped mainly Sudeten Germans and Danube Swabians. Most of those receiving support from either of these organisations were also closely involved in doing the building work themselves. According to some locals, one way of telling the confession of the inhabitants of different houses was to look at the roof, with Protestant ones being red, while Catholics had white ones (Sutter, 1972).

Sachsenheim, as the settlement in Elixhausen, Salzburg county is called, is the "purest closed settlement" in Austria (Sutter, 1972, p. 94). After the plot was bought in 1954, building work started in 1956 following the architectural design by Kurt Glondys, originally from Transylvania, who had sought to reflect the character of a typical Transylvanian-Saxon village in his planning work, with the church and meeting hall forming the central point of the settlement and streets running parallel to each other around the two main buildings. Like in Gneis and Eichethof, the Neusiedler organisation contributed financially towards the project, with the new owners being required to make certain minimum payments in cash as well as doing a fixed minimum amount of building work themselves. Furthermore, the settlers were granted long-term mortgages and loans (in some cases, up to 50 years) by both Austrian and foreign organisations in order to meet the outstanding amount. The majority of settlers in Sachsenheim had come from Botsch in North-Transylvania, from where they had been evacuated and led to Austria in a trek by Richard Engler, who eventually settled in Sachsenheim with 70 families (ca. 340 people). The "Johannes-Honterus-Church" designed by Kurt Glondys was consecrated in 1961 and soon the new settlers in Sachsenheim had formed their own brass band, traditional outfits group and a group for traditional Transylvanian-Saxon dances (Petri, 2001).

Figure 6 Honterus Church in Sachsenheim

The first generation settlers

1.0 Why interview first generation settlers – Existing Research on First Generation Settlers

There must be countless publications concerning themselves with the situation of the Transylvanian-Saxons after the Second-World War, more than 50,000 people who had left their homes behind, mainly in the belief that they would return after a few weeks but instead were driven further and further away from Transylvania. At the end of the Second-World War, there were 300,000 ethnic minority Germans in Austria, 30,000-40,000 who were Transylvanian Saxons.

1.1 Sutter's research

Sutter (1972) conducted research in the early 1970s, interviewing first generation settlers in the Salzburg area to whom the experience of losing their home still felt recent. They might not have been destitute foreigners anymore and in many cases had managed to settle successfully into their new life in Austria. The majority of the first generation would have – at the time of Sutter's interviews - spent a substantial if not larger part of their life in Transylvania[68]. Therefore, the focus was on doing things as part of a Transylvanian group, to manage themselves into organisations able to represent and look after their traditions. The memory of the old home still vivid, if slightly blurred by nostalgia through the many personal as well as material losses suffered. At the same time, trips "home" put their new life into perspective: most likely this would have meant re-training into a different profession from the one they had had in Transylvania, having to organise living arrangements, perhaps buying a plot of land and building their own house, in short, countless adjustments in order to make up for what had been lost. However, what most would have valued above anything though would have been the sense of democracy and freedom, something that no longer existed in Transylvania, as by now it was subject to a Communist regime. Sutter (1972) does not go into detail to specify experiences of those visiting Transylvania, but she divides the travellers into three groups: the older generation (50+) views these trips as going home, the middle generation (30-50) as a holiday in

[68] People aged 50 upwards would have spent at least as many years of their life in Transylvania as in Austria at the time of the interview.

their old home, while the younger generation is not connected to Transylvania emotionally. It is mentioned that almost every Transylvanian-Saxon in Austria still had relatives in Transylvania[69]; in many cases entire families had been split and difficulties in arranging permits meant that those still in Transylvania were unable to leave. There are, however, no accounts of what individuals felt when they saw their home and their loved ones again after years of separation or how their relatives in Transylvania reacted to being reunited with their family, albeit briefly, and witnessing their relative wealth. Furthermore, Sutter (1972) describes that all of her interviewees had items relating to Transylvania on display. She mentions that some of these items were taken back to Austria by the owners after returning from a stay in Transylvania, but omits the risks this meant not only for the visitors but also for their family and friends who still lived there, usually in the form of persecution by the Romanian government.

Apart from how the first generation felt affected by events that have taken place years after Sutter's study, such as trying to reclaim property in Transylvania, there are other factors in which this research attempts to add to the picture of Sutter's Transylvanian-Saxon refugee. Sutter's study is based on facts and figures concerning the Transylvanian-Saxon group in Salzburg, city and county, from the time of their flight to the time of her research in the early 1970s. It reflects, in statistics, the attitudes of the Transylvanian-Saxon settlers towards aspects such as religion, marriage and traditions, but leaves little room for individual expression or quotes that seem to be important to describe the mentality or identity of a particular population group. While the statistics presented are undoubtedly useful, particularly in giving an overview of the number of Transylvanian-Saxons in the different parts of Salzburg or their place of origin in Transylvania, the same practice will not be applied to this study. First of all, the number of first generation Transylvanian-Saxons has reduced sharply since Sutter's study. In fact, at the time of permanently leaving Transylvania, the first generation interviewees of this study would have been in their mid twenties (around the same age as the third generation group I spoke to), which means that they would have been, in some cases, too young to have spent much time in considering their identity or having a clear idea of what they wanted from life. Having spent, in some cases, almost three times as many years in Austria as in Transylvania, will give different results to Sutter's interviewees, many of whom would have been ripped from their homes and careers. Given the fact that the remaining

[69] In 1972, the majority of the Transylvanian-Saxons, approximately 180,000 were still in Romania. Today this figure has sunk to about 14,000.

life expectancy of this group is now sadly low, the intention of the interviews was more a discussion of personal memories and opinions on a number of topics relating to Transylvania, than trying to add further statistics, which would be of little value to my objective of showing their identity. It will show Transylvanian-Saxons outside the "norm", individuals that at first glance merely seem to have the connection of Transylvanian-Saxon origin and Salzburg as their place of residence.

1.2 Transylvanian-Saxon society in Transylvania before 1945 and after the evacuation

While Transylvanian-Saxon history may span more than 850 years, their life as an administratively united group was a relatively short 92 years[70]. Being subject to different political circumstances had not deterred the Transylvanian-Saxons of the past from making decisions on behalf of the entire group, such as adopting the Protestant belief. However, the events of the Second-World War, with Romania withdrawing its allegiance to Germany and Transylvania being divided between two countries led to the dispersion of the group; consequently this meant evacuation for almost 95 per cent of those living in North Transylvania, whereas the fate of most young people in South Transylvania was deportation and hard labour in Russia.

The evacuation of North Transylvania and a few South Transylvanian villages was organised by German officials after the Romanian capitulation, with city residents travelling in military transport or by train, while the rest left in treks made up of up to 400 people and several carriages drawn by horses or cattle.

A substantial number of these treks came to a halt in Austria, which after Germany became home to the largest number of refugees after the Second-World War.

Transylvanian-Saxon society consisted of two very different groups: the farming communities which made up about 73 per cent of the population and the city dwellers who lived in cities that, until the mid 1850s had enjoyed immense privileges. Whereas both groups were generally financially comfortable, members of the city group had often been educated to degree level, in many cases in Germany or Austria and many had friends and relatives outside of Transylvania. The farming community,

[70] Until 1848, one part lived on Komitatsboden, the other on the privileged Königsboden; in 1940 North Transylvania became part of Hungary, while South Transylvania stayed with Romania.

on the other hand, was more likely to be in closer contact with each other, which is testified by the large number of brother and sisterhoods, to which practically every adult became a member and which almost legally obliged individuals to help each other in time of need.

The fact that communities in Transylvania were primarily farming and that an even larger percentage (80%) of the refugees in Salzburg came from a farming background mean that most studies conducted tend to centre on their situation only. These studies tend to concern themselves with, specifically, their way to Austria (mainly through trek), their situation after the war (even though many had to help out at farms directly after the war, only a very small number were able to continue their work and lifestyle through marrying into farming families in Salzburg), their integration in Austria and the preservation of their traditions.

1.3 Recent Research into Transylvanian-Saxons in Austria and Salzburg

Petri's (2001) work is more recent than Sutter's first study, but there is also a heavy focus on North Transylvania and the effects on the identity of the farming community. He writes: "There hardly could have been anybody more deeply rooted in their home country than the farmers, our Transylvanian-Saxon farmers. They lived in the shadow of a heavy and fateful history. Their identity and entrenchment is mirrored in the strong connection to their parents' home and the land and property owned throughout several generations. ... The deeply emotional connection to their home filled the hearts of those otherwise sober-minded people" (Petri, 2002, p. 72).

Whereas Sutter (1972) concedes that each refugee's story about leaving Transylvania and finding a new home in Austria is a personal and individual one, and she provides some statistics about the circumstances or way that brought her interviewees to Austria, only the treks are discussed in detail. Sutter (1972) writes that there are no obvious signs of either farming or city-dweller group being more homesick than the other, and the purpose of this study is by no means intending to portray one group as having lost or suffered more than the other - instead, through the experiences of the first generation interviewees in this study, who might differ from other studies in the respect that they were all city-dwellers, mostly from South Transylvania and in some cases, from very wealthy backgrounds, will show that there were very distinctive advantages and disadvantages for each group.

Udo Acker, vice-president of the "Haus des Deutschen Ostens" in Munich, also stressed the importance that should be placed on the individual with respect to the immigration process, as one person might have a more positive attitude towards coping with the loss of their home than another. Generally, he believes that it was particularly hard for the farmers, and within that group, especially the older generation, to lose the independence they had been able to exercise on their own land and now be reduced to working as farmhands on Austrian farms. It was specifically one of their main concerns to have their own house again, as soon as possible, such that they would be able to share within their extended family. Intellectuals or those who held senior positions also had to deal with degradation with respect to work opportunities, with Acker giving the example of a university professor from Transylvania who had to initially work as an assistant and researcher at an Austrian university before regaining his former position. However, Acker also told me that it was possible for an intellectual to make use of the new situation for their own work as the case of Otto Folberth proves: at the time of coming to Salzburg he was in his early fifties and unable to regain the position of headmaster he had held in Transylvania. Instead, he concentrated himself on the subject of immigration and refugees and wrote articles and essays on related issues.

Sutter (1997) followed her original study with a short essay entitled "The Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg – 50 years after" in which she comments on some of the changes she has perceived 25 years after her original research. However, she exclusively concentrates on the settlement in Sachsenheim in Elixhausen. Sutter (1997) notes that the settlement has grown in the number of new houses, and that the majority of the original properties have been extended. In 1981, a regional parish, Nördlicher Flachgau, with 2000 members was founded, and it was decided that its seat should be in Sachsenheim.

Sutter (1997) writes that she has noted various changes in the community in the 25 years since her first study: while her original interviewees had been extremely open and happy to talk to her about their current situation, the interviewees of the second study had been less willing to do so, an indication for Sutter that they no longer have to consciously concern themselves with topics such as integration or assimilation because these processes were already completed either by themselves or their

parents. Since the majority of first generation settlers had died, many of the memories of the initial years after the war have been lost, too[71].

Sutter (1997) further notices the decline in community events around Easter and Christmas and the change in what used to be a children's event celebrated by the Transylvanian-Saxons from Botsch, who formed the biggest number of refugees in Sachsenheim[72].

Sutter (1997) writes that the most extensive project undertaken by the community was the building of a cultural meeting house, "Zur Nachbarschaft", which took ten years to complete and for which volunteers contributed up to 2000 hours of their free time, to see its realisation. However, lack of financial funding for the house has forced the Transylvanian-Saxon community to donate it to the local authority, who now wants to use it as a meeting place for all the people of Elixhausen[73].

Sutter (1997) concludes that the integration of Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg (as well as in the rest of Austria) has been similar to that in Germany, with one important difference. There were no 'Aussiedler' to Austria due to the Transylvanian-Saxons not being given the same nationality rights and benefits as in Germany, meaning that the "assimilation of the first generation of 1944 into the local population is as good as complete" (Sutter, 1997, p. 105).

Sutter (1997) believes that the lack of new settlers has sped up the assimilation process, meaning that the younger generation cannot understand their parents' strong connection to home. In 1970, less than 1000 Transylvanian-Saxons who had been born in Transylvania lived in Salzburg, a county of 400,000 people.

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[71] Sutter (1997) seems to express surprise at an event to mark the 50-year jubilee of the Transylvanian-Saxons' arrival in the area, which was entirely organised by local Austrians. She points out that this is in stark contrast to the way the refugees where originally received, and that no mention was made of earlier disagreements between Austrian locals and the Transylvanian-Saxons during the festivities. Sutter (1997) writes that all of the interviewees insisted that the Transylvanian-Saxons and their families and the locals today lived together without problems. However, both groups, now are concerned by the influx of commuters, who are moving into the area but are spending the majority of their time (work, social events) outside the community.

[72] These days, the "Blasifest" is celebrated as part of a general Elixhausen village fete, but Sutter (1997) also points out that there have been Austrian elements to it since 1959, when it was first celebrated in Elixhausen, as Austrian children, waving Austrian flags, also took part in the parade, and the Elixhausen brass band soon joined the festivities, playing, assumingly, Austrian music as entertainment.

[73] "Who of the settlers and all the volunteers would have ever imagined that "their" house within "their" settlement would ever become the club house for a Salzburg community? And the almost unimaginable has already happened: the residents from Sachsenheim are looking forward to the day, honestly and openly, that the residents of Elixhausen are coming down to the settlement, "there is no difference between us and them now, anyway". (p. 105).

2.0 Interviewees used for this research – Background information

While at the time of Sutter's first study there was still a relatively large number of first generation Transylvanian-Saxons living in Salzburg, they have now been reduced to small group of individuals in their 70s, 80s and 90s. Therefore only 16 people were interviewed, 4 men and 12 women.

Two-thirds were born and had resided in South Transylvania (Kronstadt, Mediasch, and Hermannstadt) and the other third in North Transylvania (Klausenburg, Bistritz). A fairly large number (80 per cent) either left Transylvania with members of their family, or were reunited with some of their relatives in Austria after the war, although in one case, one interviewee's family was not allowed to leave Transylvania until 1957.

2.1 Settling in Austria

Hardly any of the interviewees I spoke to told me that it was their plan to stay in Austria. Their reasons for coming to Austria included being caught up during their flight from Transylvania, or to join family members there. The process of deciding whether to stay or leave proved incredibly difficult and confusing for many of them.

Interviewees Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Among the first generation interviewees I talked to were two couples; one that had met in Austria and the other who had already been married and had a small child at the time they left Transylvania.

While the couple who had left Transylvania together were both originally from South Transylvania, the second couple had different origins; the wife, Mrs A, is from a small town in North Transylvania, where her father was mayor and owned a large manor house; while her husband, Mr A, grew up in less wealthy circumstances in the South Transylvanian town, Mediasch and later Kronstadt. They met at an event organised by Transylvanian-Saxons in the late 1940s in Salzburg, and shortly after they married, were able to buy one of the plots in Gneis, where they initially constructed a wooden hut to live in whilst starting the building work on their semi-detached house in the early 1950s. Their first daughter was born before the work was completed, and spent the first months of her life in the cramped hut that was furnished with just a

single bed. Once the house was habitable, the couple not only moved in with their daughter, but the wife's parents, who up until then had lived in Upper Austria, also joined them[74]. Her husband, however, who had been a prisoner of war, released in Austria, had had only little contact with his family in South Transylvania, so his initial plans were to return back home. He registered with an organisation whose aim it was to help Transylvanian-Saxons to return to their home towns. Today he cannot recall whether the organisation was eventually dissolved or whether he was worried about the Communist regime but when he was asked where he wanted to be released to from the POW camp, he chose Salzburg. He said that he had first seen the city whilst still a prisoner and it immediately reminded him of Kronstadt. However, while he therefore felt a connection with Salzburg straight away, the situation in Austria after the war led him to consider a move to Germany, prior to being offered the building plot. He even had a supervisor, who was already in Munich and said that he would use his connections to help him find employment there, but as the interviewee had been a member of the SS, the German authorities declined his application. However, as soon as the house was completed, all considerations of moving either back to Transylvania or attempting to settle in Germany were gone.

Regarding their first contact with Austrians, Mrs A spent her first few months with her family in Vöcklabruck (Upper Austria) in 1945, before moving to Salzburg in search of a better job. In Vöcklabruck, she was employed to do so-called "milk checks" at different farms to ensure that the risk of illnesses and disease would be reduced, and while it meant a big change from her life as a student at a domestic education college in Berlin where she had studied in the early 1940s, she believes she had some advantages compared to other refugees: "The young people accepted me straight away, as I still had my city clothes, but the others who came from the villages, only had their traditional farmers costumes, and they attracted attention". She also remembers that the Austrians had trouble understanding her when she spoke German, but generally, they were friendly and generous with their food to the refugees, despite not having much themselves[75].

[74] Her family had been able to come to Austria together, due to the more organised evacuation process in North Transylvania, and due to her father's high status he had even been the trek leader of their village.

[75] While she acknowledges that the farms and houses she encountered in Austria might not have been up to their usual standard, she says that she was still shocked at how unclean and untidy everything seemed compared to Transylvania and at the Austrians' "crude way of cooking". She recalls her mother being asked by local farmers' wives to cook for them in exchange for food.

Mr A, on the other hand, did not have contact with Austrians immediately, as most of his fellow prisoners of war tended to be ethnic German SS men rather than locals, and it was not until he was given duties outside the camp that he met the Austrian civilian population: he knocked on the door of a house and offered the family who lived there (and after explaining where he "was from and what it meant to be a Transylvanian-Saxon") a pair of new boots in exchange for some food; they told him that they did not have any food they could offer him immediately but would send him some cakes at Christmas. They kept their promise, meaning that the interviewee's first encounter with the Austrian population was one of honesty and generosity. After his release, and while he still was classified as a displaced person, he managed to get a job as a truck driver for a wholesale food business. When the company was approached by the employment office after a few months, insisting that they should fire the "illegally working foreigner", his boss initially advised them that he would not be willing to do this, and after a second admonition wrote back to them stating that he would make his employee redundant, but that he would not replace him with anybody else. Mr A was allowed to keep his position.

The second couple, Mr and Mrs C, who lived in Kronstadt before they fled in late 1944, were alarmed by the news that the Russians were nearing and left with the help of a group of German war correspondents who had stayed at their house. After a number of stops in Hungary they reached Vienna, where they had relatives. However, the continuing fear of the Russians as well as a lack of food drove them to leave again and move towards the West, which they were only able to do via a personal connection. After a number of train journeys and stops that saw the family (their daughter was only three years old) sleep in barns and in the open air, they reached Tyrol where the reception by the locals was either hostile or met by outrageous demands when they tried to exchange some of their belongings for food[76]. Eventually though, one farmer offered them a room in the attic, where rain leaked through the roof, but they were able to spend the winter there. At the end of the war, their intention was to return back home as soon as possible and through a couple of exchange deals, they organised a carriage and two horses, one an old racing horse and the other a draught horse. The age and lack of strength of the animals, however, slowed down the journey severely. When they reached Salzburg late in the summer of 1945, they initially wanted to stay for just a weekend. In Morzg, an area just outside Salzburg, they came across a refugee camp with many of the

[76] At a farmhouse, they were told that the charges for one night per person were either one kilo of sugar, one kilo of bacon, one kilo of lard or RM 200.

people there also from Transylvania. Realising that it was unlikely the horses would be able to complete the journey, they decided to sell them and stay in Salzburg for a while. They then met fellow Kronstädters in a camp in Gneis and "suddenly, without really thinking, without actually wanting to, stayed". What they did not realise at the time, of course, was that the transmitter van they had bought from another refugee would be their home for the next 10 years, standing on a big field with many others. When looking for work, the husband was eventually taken on as a farmhand, and while, as a city dweller, he had no previous experience in doing this kind of work, the welcoming attitude of the farmer meant that he soon saw him as a friend rather than as an employer[77]. Eight years after their arrival, the number of field and transmitter van inhabitants had decreased drastically, with more and more taking up the opportunity of moving to other places or building their own house. As their money was limited, they were unable to buy a plot of land outright and whenever they applied to buy one with the help of a charity, their applications were rejected. Finally, the husband was advised to join the Socialist party: when he did, they were given permission to build on a plot within days. Like most other refugees, they did a large part of the building work themselves, taking two years before the house was ready for them to move in. To help them reduce their living expenses, they let one of the rooms[78].

Mrs B did not have to flee Transylvania, as her parents made the decision in 1942 to sell their property in Kronstadt and move to Litzmannstadt, where her father had a friend. Travelling to Germany by train, the interviewee's family were unprepared for any food shortages that the German people experienced at that time, as they still had plenty of provisions in Transylvania[79]. When her father was unable to find a position in Germany, the family moved to Vienna, where he found work as an interpreter of Romanian and Hungarian. As they still had most of the profit from the sale of their property in Transylvania left, initially, there were no worries about accommodation and everyday needs. But with Vienna under bombing attacks, the family felt no longer safe and fled to Salzburg at Easter 1945, initially by foot, but eventually by

[77] Despite their attempts to make their "home" comfortable, the radio van did not prove to be an ideal shelter, as it was too hot in the summer (as there were no trees nearby, they planted beanstalks around it for some shadow) and in the winter, when it was very cold, even the walls would freeze, meaning that the couple sometimes stayed up all night to ensure that their oven, heated with peat, would not go out.
[78] This was also a common thing for many immigrant families to do; quite a few let their already completed rooms, sometimes to American soldiers and contractors and their families, while they themselves would stay in the unfinished parts of the house.
[79] So, it was a surprise to them, when, waiting in a train station in Germany, they unpacked the two chickens that the mother had prepared before their journey; all the other travellers were just staring at them.

train. There, the whole family had to share a room at a farm, until they heard about the Lutheran Weltbund's project in Gneis, to which her father applied. The family then were able to move into a semi-detached house, which they had to partially help to build and construct.

Mrs D was perhaps the one interviewee who had the most knowledge of Austrian culture and people before leaving Transylvania – her mother was originally from Vienna. As North Transylvanians from Bistritz, where they had lived in a villa, they fled by train and stayed in Vienna with her maternal grandparents until they were so concerned about the nearing front that they boarded a train to Germany. The journey ended when their train was bombed near Salzburg and the survivors were divided amongst farmers in the area, whom her father helped as well as he could through his background as a forestry engineer. The main reason for the family moving closer to Salzburg was that the interviewee's father felt that his daughter (who was 12-14 years old at the time) should return to full-time education. Therefore, the family moved to a refugee camp in Leopoldskron, near the city of Salzburg and the interviewee completed her compulsory education. However, due to the financial situation of the family she was unable to study for her A-Levels, and did not find an apprenticeship place to become a goldsmith, as she had hoped. Instead, the only training place she was offered was to become a seamstress. At the time of starting this apprenticeship, she had not been granted Austrian citizenship and she believes that the main reason she got taken on was that her supervisor was also a refugee. Concerning her contact with Austrians, she said that she had never experienced any problems and that despite the fact of being one of just two Protestant children at school she was not picked on by her classmates. In her opinion, it was only the narrow-minded, be they Austrians or Transylvanian-Saxons, who would complain, and that even today people are well informed about Transylvania. She told me that she avoids telling people that she is from Romania, because of its associations with organised crime and gangs in Austria.

Mrs E, who left Transylvania when she was in her early teens, said that understanding the Austrian dialect had been her biggest challenge. She had grown up speaking High German, as her parents had only conversed in the dialect to each other but not with the interviewee or her siblings. As the family spent their first few years in Austria in a rural area, a local dialect was spoken at school but the only help that was offered by the teacher was that she should "learn German". Generally, she had the feeling of being considered Romanian rather than German, which was

humiliating for her, as she had been brought up to be proud of her German identity and culture. However, unlike many other interviewees, she was not affected by the religious differences between Austrians and Saxons, as her family had not been frequent church- goers in Transylvania.

Mrs F had spent two years of hard labour in Russia, before she was released due to bad health. After she managed to get in contact with her mother, who was still in South Transylvania, she learned that her fiancé was in Salzburg and tried to get to him as soon as she could, which even resulted in her being imprisoned for trying to cross borders illegally. After arrival she found that she could not stay with her fiancé so she had to look for a job to support herself. Whilst still in Russia, due to her bad health, she had been moved from her tough manual duties to a household consisting of a sick mother and her three children, and was expected to do all the cooking, cleaning and washing; tasks she had never been taught as her family had employed servants. Now in Salzburg, she discovered that she would only find employment in similar positions, and eventually was taken on as a nanny for a family with two small boys. She was treated very kindly by the family she worked for and was settling in well but her fiancé then decided on studying in Germany and so left Salzburg. While he had been her initial reason for coming to Austria, she had, by now, not only found a job that she adored, but also met other Saxons, amongst them also people she knew from the Russian camps. After marrying a Saxon man she had met at one of the organised events, she left her job, and moved into one of the refugee camps with her husband, where they had to live in just one room. Like other interviewees, they started building their house in the Gneis settlement while still living in the camp[80]. By the time they were able to move into their new home they had stayed in the camp for three years and their son who had been born there, did not initially want to leave the familiar surroundings and kept insisting that he wanted to "go home". Regarding her experience with Austrians, the interviewee said that people would remark that she was not a local as soon as "she opened her mouth" and that quite a few did not know where Transylvania was. Like other interviewees I spoke to, she does not want to say outright that she is from Romania.

Mrs G grew up in the North Transylvanian city of Klausenburg. At the time of flight, she was a teenager living with her parents, her sister having married recently and left

[80] However, they soon had to discover that the financial demands on the semi-detached house they had started to build would be too much for them. They solved this problem by asking another Transylvanian-Saxon family to move into the first floor of the house, while they had their living quarters on the ground floor.

the parental home. As her father was serving in the Hungarian Army and her sister relocated to Munich by her company, the interviewee left only with her mother to be evacuated by train. As the interviewee was only 15 years old, she wanted to continue her education: she had heard about a few German schools from Hungary who had relocated to Silesia[81]. Eventually, the interviewee and her classmates were given permanent accommodation in a village near Attersee in Austria. While the interviewee had been able to keep in contact with her mother who was staying at a farmer's in a different Austrian village, she did not know what had happened to the rest of her family, especially her father. So, when her mother came to visit her unexpectedly, she was even more surprised to see her father accompanying her[82]. The family was soon complete again, with the interviewee's pregnant sister joining them from Munich. Just a couple of weeks after their 'miraculous' reunion, however, a bomb attack left the interviewee's father permanently injured[83]. Soon after this terrible event, her sister gave birth to a boy. They all had to share a small, first floor room of about 16 square meters with a downstairs toilet, which proved challenging for her father, who by then had to use crutches.

Mrs G herself was trying to finish her secondary education. This was more complicated than might have been expected, as the interviewee had, due to the war, attended 7 different schools in as many years. Each had made different requirements of their pupils, especially with regards to languages. This meant that she now had to learn and pass an exam on six years worth of curriculum in English in the space of just a summer[84]. Generally, her memories of the Catholic Convent school she attended are very positive: while there also several other Protestant students, the Sisters never approached any of the refugee girls to convert them or mistreated them as a result of their belief[85]. While the interviewee moved on to marry and work in Vienna, her parents bought a house in the Gneis settlement. Since her husband's and parents' death the interviewee has moved there.

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[81] Trying to catch up with her class took several weeks of train journeys and meant that she became separated from her mother. Furthermore, the frequent bombings meant that the "school" was moving all the time, and the children learnt hardly anything.
[82] He had managed to get to Upper Austria from Hungary at the end of the war, and had by chance met a Transylvanian-Saxon woman there, who was able to tell him where other refugees from Klausenburg were staying.
[83] Part of his leg had to be amputated, but as he was wrongly amputated first the procedure had to be repeated and his lasting injuries were more severe than would have been necessary
[84] She achieved this task by taking private lessons and studying hard, which was not easy considering she had to do this work in a room shared with three other adults and a screaming baby.
[85] Only girls whose parents had left the church because of their involvement with the NS party were asked to consider rejoining the Catholic Community.

Despite the fact that Transylvania had its own university in Klausenburg it was a general practice, in wealthy and intellectual circles, for young people to study in other European countries, often Germany or Austria. Mrs H, is a good example of a wealthy, well-protected young Transylvanian-Saxon girl that had been sent to study in Berlin in 1938, "to experience a world city" and to enrol in a course that many girls in similar fortunate circumstances chose: Art History. While she had to learn to find her way around such a big city and organise her own accommodation - a new experience, as previously everything had been arranged for her - her wealthy background meant she had no difficulties in quickly setting herself up in a comfortably, and her objectives of university life seem to mirror those of an average student today[86]. These new experiences unsurprisingly meant that the political situation of the time did not interest or concern her very much. However, she had been shocked to discover that the image of a "real German" as portrayed and taught in Transylvania did not necessarily match her experiences with Germans in Berlin[87]. In the meantime, war had broken out and she soon witnessed bombings and had to contact her parents after each one to let them know she was safe. However, the increased attacks eventually worried her parents so much that they ordered her to leave Berlin and return to Transylvania, an instruction the interviewee had no intention of following[88]. In order to placate her parents she suggested that she would move to Vienna, along with quite a few of her friends who also decided to relocate there. Initially, this was a sensible decision as there were no attacks on Vienna yet (according to the interviewee it was then common belief that Vienna would not be attacked), and there was more food available than in Berlin, which already experienced food shortages. Furthermore, as there was no lack of food whatsoever in Transylvania, her family sent packages to her with German soldiers who were stationed in Transylvania, when they went on holiday leave[89]. However, bombings on Vienna and the threat of the approaching Russians (by this point Romania had become so secluded that there were rumours that all Transylvanian-Saxons had been taken to Siberia) meant that the interviewee no longer felt safe to stay there. Even though she did not leave Vienna until 1945, whilst on holiday in Zell am See

[86] Freedom from a loving but maybe overprotective environment in a small town in Transylvania, where she was well known, amusement and entertainment at the theatre and parties as well as socialising with fellow students, among them, of course, a number of boys.
[87] Whereas Transylvanians were taught that a German woman was of such high virtue that she would never smoke or drink, not only did she find the opposite but also discovered how conservative Transylvanian-Saxon society was.
[88] She had made a lot of friends in Berlin already, many of who were originally from Transylvania including her future husband, and she also wanted to continue with her studies.
89 While these packages included food and cigarettes, it was the coffee that was most valuable on the black market, and was even accepted instead of a fee by the dentist she went to.

during Easter 1944, the interviewee decided to rent a room at an inn there for a year. She also agreed with her husband that they would meet in Zell should they become separated due to the war and lose contact.

Mr I was working for a German building company in Bukowina, when he and his other Transylvanian-Saxon colleagues heard that Romania had declared war on Germany. He immediately wanted to return to Hermannstadt, where not only his company DeRuBau (Deutsch-Rumänische Bauunternehmen – German-Romanian-Building Company) had their headquarters but also his family lived. Initially, he travelled with colleagues who were also intent on getting back to the company, but they were stopped in Klausenburg and prevented from proceeding. The interviewee then decided to leave his company and just concentrate on getting back to his family. However, when he was held up again, this time in Torda, he concluded that it was impossible to get into Hermannstadt and decided to go westwards. He managed to get to Budapest from where he and two colleagues caught one of the last trains to Vienna. From there he went on to Unken, in Salzburg County, where his sister was staying with her one-year old child, after her husband, a German Wehrmachts-officer, had been killed during the battles. While he was able to live with his sister for a short time, he later rented a flat and eventually was given a terraced house, which had been financed by a Swiss Charity. However, he had to wait until 1957, nearly 14 years, to be reunited with his wife and three daughters, as they had not been allowed to leave Transylvania before.

Living in the city of Salzburg

Mrs L stayed in Romania until 1948. Even though her husband was earning enough as an architect in Bucharest, it was the fact that they did not feel safe as Germans anymore, and were constantly worried about being arrested, that encouraged their decision to leave. Through connections they were able to enter Oradia where they were meant to be smuggled out of Romania with another group. However, when they arrived the smugglers suddenly demanded a substantially higher amount than was originally agreed, which the couple were unable to pay. It was only due the new connections of a member from their original group that they were then driven to the Hungarian border, together with another couple, who had a toddler of about two years. As they approached the borders, they suddenly saw a group of policemen walking towards them. The smugglers stopped their car and hurried them across a field by foot, where they waited for the controls within the village to finish. By then it

was almost daylight, which meant they could not return to the village and had to spend the entire day in a forest outside the village, in cold and snowy weather conditions. It was only in the evening that one of the smugglers returned to lead them to a farmhouse where they were given food. The smugglers now altered their original plans to take the group over the border by foot and arranged train tickets for them to Budapest, where Mr and Mrs L went to stay with an uncle. As he had not been expecting them, he was not only shocked but also worried that the two would be found and therefore sent his maid on holiday immediately. Mrs L's husband then went out in search for a contact, to take them across the border to Austria as soon as possible, but as it was the Jewish Easter holidays (and it was mainly Jews who had the contacts), he was unable to find one straight away. When they remembered friends' stories about walking to Austria from Hungary during times of peace, they decided to enter Austria the same way. After wandering around the area aimlessly for hours, they managed to find their way to the border by lunchtime, and now had to contemplate the risk of crossing into Austria during daylight. They then came across two farmers, one of them German-speaking, who warned them not to enter the village as the police had set up a checkpoint there. Stumbling across fields and water, they encountered several other German-speakers working on a vineyard, who directed them to the best routes to avoid the watchtowers. Eventually, with their feet injured and hurting, they met another farmer who confirmed to them that they were now in Austria. While they also had a relative in Vienna, and hoped to rest there for a while, they were alarmed by the situation in Berlin and worried that something similar might happen in Vienna. Through another connection they now headed towards Salzburg, hidden between the packages of a goods train. In Salzburg, they were hoping to meet the interviewee's brother who was staying with his family there.

The next interviewee's (Mrs M) voice and expression still conveys the enthusiasm and excitement she felt at the moment she decided to leave Transylvania: standing in Kronstadt, in a crowd watching the German troops marching through on their way to Russia. Seeing this display of "beautiful, prim men" parading neatly in a row through her hometown, made her realise that she wanted more from life than what her current situation offered, being divorced with a small child and having to live at her father's. Her dream of leaving everything behind was further encouraged by the stories of German officers, who she had met through her membership in a dancing group that sometimes entertained the troops[90]. Eventually, she managed to organise

[90] She is adamant that there were no "dalliances" between any of the girls and the army audiences who mainly consisted of high-ranking officers rather than soldiers. These fun and entertaining evenings put in

a visa to go to Germany on a resettlement ship, thanks to a contact she had made at one of the dancing events. Upon boarding the ship with her little daughter, she got the first impression of how different the situation was in Germany in terms of food supplies: while all food had still been readily available in Transylvania, the only meal served to them on board of the ship was gruel, a type of porridge[91]. After six days of travel, the ship reached Bruck in Austria, where they were expected to stay in a camp and given a bed. Laughing today at the idea of the kind of luggage she had with her to travel to a country that was at war, the interviewee recalls how moments after storing her possessions on her bed, one of her hat boxes had disappeared. However, this incident was enough to make her decide that she did not want to stay at the camp any longer, and as she had an aunt living in nearby Vienna, the officials allowed her to leave. While her aunt was glad to see her, the system of food rationing had already been put into practice in Austria and the interviewee felt that she did not want to be an unnecessary burden to the old lady. After enquiring which official body would deal with mothers and children, she was told to contact the NSV – National Socialist Public Welfare organisation. Walking around Vienna, trying to look for the NSV office, her daughter started to complain that she was hungry[92]. When she finally reached the NSV building, the strains of travel, lack of knowledge of Vienna, her hungry child and growing realisation that her life might not improve rapidly in Germany caused her to have a 'complete nervous breakdown'. Luckily, the official there was very friendly and arranged for her and her daughter to be transferred to a mother and children home outside Vienna. Upon her arrival she was offered the position of looking after one of the wards[93]. A few months later, an opportunity arose for her to work in the Ukraine for a year where she should build up and run a German kindergarten. Worried that her daughter might suffer by being constantly up-rooted, she took her back to Transylvania to stay with her sister. While she mostly enjoyed her stay in the Ukraine, she was concerned by the changing atmosphere in the months before the battle of Stalingrad and as her year was nearly over, she decided to return to Vienna. Still unsure where she would live and work, she did not want her daughter to join her just yet. After a conversation with a stranger on a train, who told

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context even more that she felt trapped in Transylvania, and the stories the officers told her about life in Germany encouraged her longing to go there even more.

[91] Furthermore, she was shocked to discover that rather than being provided with a cabin to sleep in, the settlers were provided with some blankets and were expected to stay on deck of the ship.

[92] As food ration cards were only available to those who were working, the interviewee went to a bakery and begged the assistant to sell her something for payments by German Marks. However, the piece of cake she bought was so 'disgusting' that her daughter was unable to eat it.

[93] However, this also meant that she would be separated from her daughter and was only allowed to see her twice a month. When she was caught spending a few minutes with her daughter outside the set times, and reprimanded for her offence, she knew that she would not be interested in staying at the home for much longer

her about the beauty of Salzburg, she decided to find out whether there would be any positions available there and was overjoyed when she was immediately offered a job at a kindergarten[94].

Mrs J was a student at the university in Klausenburg and her family owned a large vineyard in the town of Tekendorf. Thanks to their good connections to the German Wehrmacht, the interviewee, her brother and her sister-in-law with an 8-month-old baby were given the opportunity of leaving Transylvania on a train with injured soldiers. Initially they stayed in a village in Hungary, close to the Austrian border, where a local woman let them a room. Like many other people, the interviewee's parents initially thought that the Russians would not be able to cross the Carpathian Mountains, but after encouragement from their children, they finally decided to leave their home and join them. Knowing that the Russians had already arrived in Vienna, they decided to travel westwards to Tyrol, where their former neighbours from Transylvania had relatives. They settled down there, and the interviewee was able to continue with her studies at the University of Innsbruck[95]. Whilst at university, she met her future husband (an Austrian) and upon graduating married and went to live in Salzburg. As her husband took a position working for the Archbishop's office she entered, by her own description, a "Catholic stronghold". However, her worries that she might not be accepted by the nuns or even the Archbishop because of her Protestant belief, proved completely unfounded: she is adamant that nobody within the Church ever approached and asked her to convert, bust instead made her feel very welcome. Later, when the couple had their first child, the nuns would even collect donations of food and clothes for their daughter. However, Mrs J is also aware that others might not have had such positive experiences and that their Protestant beliefs might have disadvantaged them and their families in everyday situations[96].

[94] Even luckier, she was still able to travel back to Transylvania and pick up her daughter, something that would have been a lot more difficult or impossible just a few months later.
[95] Soon after, one of her professors from the University of Klausenburg, Karl-Kurt Klein, arrived and held a position, although he was not the tutor of the interviewee's dissertation in German Studies.
[96] In fact, she recalls her young nephew's experiences at primary school, where the teacher excluded the boy from religious education, which resulted in him wishing to change his "too-German sounding" name to a more Austrian-sounding one and wanting to become a Catholic, so he would receive pictures of the Virgin Mary like the other children.

Living in rural area

Mr N left Transylvania in 1942, following Hungary's and Romania's agreement with Germany to let all men of German-speaking nationality join the German army[97]. In the summer of 1943, the interviewee was moved to Denmark to become part of a beach patrol group as there were concerns about an English or American attack. With the invasion taking place in France, the interviewee was moved back there to defend Paris, which by then was already surrounded by American troops. As his troop were starting to retreat, an American attack just outside the city resulted in the loss of 60 to 70 per cent of the interviewee's comrades and the rest of the group were broken up. With just a few of his comrades, the interviewee tried to start his way home but they were picked up by the Americans and taken as prisoners of war[98]. During his time in the camp, the number of German soldiers who capitulated rose into the thousands. For the first three weeks the interviewee had to live in a hole he had dug himself in the ground, with only a heavy coat to shield him[99]. After keeping the interviewee in France for two months, the Americans handed him over to the British. In England, he spent the winter of 1943/44 in a tent camp, until this treatment was declared to be in violation of the Geneva Convention by visiting delegates of the Genevan Red Cross. He was then moved to Northern Ireland, into a camp of corrugated-iron huts, which had been built and used by the Americans. However, the stay at this camp was also rather short, as in the spring of 1944 the prisoners were split up according to nationality. As the interviewee was of Romanian nationality, he was taken back to England together with Hungarians and Romanians, and eventually moved to a POW camp in Glasgow. By the time of his release as a prisoner of war, he already knew that his family were no longer in Transylvania from an acquaintance in Austria[100] who had promised to try and contact his parents, "once the borders were open". This surprised the interviewee who was not aware of the regional borders that Austria had been divided into by the allies. Eventually, he found out that his mother, brother and sister were in Vöcklabruck, Upper Austria, and that his father had been sent to Hungary as a prisoner for his activities in the Romanian Volksgruppe.

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[97] As the Foreign German recruits could not become a member of the Wehrmacht, the interviewee joined the Waffen SS, and was sent to Southern France for training.

[98] The interviewee told me that he was disappointed by the treatment at the hand of the American soldiers who not only took possession of the prisoners' uniforms as souvenirs but also, belongings such as watches or jewellery.

[99] Then he was moved to a military hospital, where he shared a tent with another prisoner and assisted the medical staff. There, the interviewee was positively surprised to see that the doctors made no difference between American or German wounded and prioritised their treatment according to need rather than nationality.

[100] After the war, the prisoners were given a pre-printed postcard by British commanding officers, which said "a defeated German soldier is looking for his family". This card had to be sent to either a German or Austrian address.

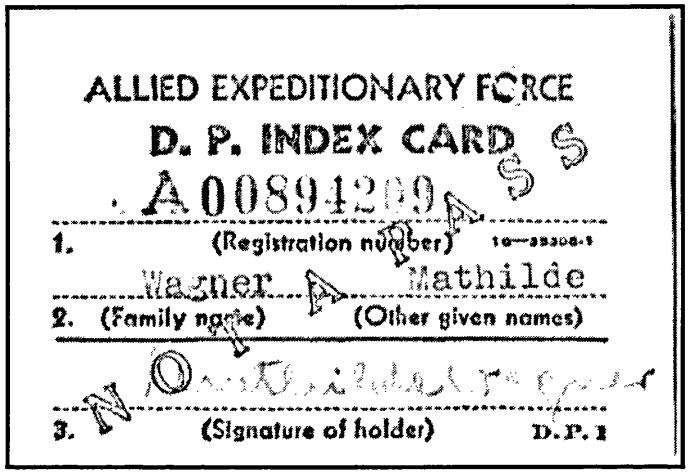
Understandably, the interviewee and fellow Transylvanian-Saxon prisoners did no longer want to return to Romania, and initially chose to stay in England on a voluntary basis (they had to sign an official document to indicate their decision). However, upon hearing about another group of Transylvanian-Saxon prisoners who had asked to return to their home towns but had then been released in Germany, the interviewee and his colleagues decided to take this opportunity, and indeed were also set free outside the Romanian borders. While the interviewee initially stayed at an aunt's in Germany, he contacted the Austrian embassy in Munich as soon as possible, to request permission to enter Austria and travel to Vöcklabruck to the interviewee's family. As the officials were vague about the next possible transport date, the interviewee attempted to cross the borders illegally at Passau with three other men he had met there. They were caught by the Austrian border police and sentenced to four months in prison, after which they were to be sent back to Germany. However, with the help of a Transylvanian-Saxon who worked as a translator for a US captain in Linz, the interviewee's mother managed to arrange permission for her son to stay in Austria, and the interviewee was finally reunited with his family in February 1947.

Trans-Migration

One of the interviewees I spoke to, Mrs K, came to Austria originally with her husband but later settled in Germany, just across the border from Salzburg. However, she feels that her family was forced out of Austria and says that her original plans had been to stay in the country which not only shared a history with Transylvania but with which they also felt more culturally connected to, than the "strict, pedantic German mentality". It was only on discovering that her husband, who had already fully qualified as a lawyer in Transylvania, was expected to retake all the exams to practise law in Austria that they looked at alternative options. In Germany, by contrast, he was required to pass only one state examination and achieved this in just one year. Even though they managed to settle in Freilassing, a small town on the border to Salzburg, the interviewee told me that she regretted the decision of leaving Austria, despite being strangers there as well. Furthermore, while there was a strong community of Transylvanian-Saxons established in Salzburg, initially, there were no other families from Transylvania in Freilassing, and only a few who settled there later[101]. They continued to attend events by the Landsmannschaft of the Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg or visit friends who had stayed there. This was

101 However, there was no organisation or Landsmannschaft set up for the Transylvanian-Saxons in Freilassing, and the interviewee says that contact between the individual families was only sporadic.

one of the reasons why she only felt accepted and settled in Freilassing after many years. As the interviewee and her husband did not live in a settlement or a rural area, I have grouped her answers together with other interviewees living in a city; in their case the city of Salzburg.


ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

D. P. INDEX CARD

A0089426[illegible]

1. (Registration number)

Wagner Mathilde

2. (Family name) (Other given names)

3. (Signature of holder) D.P. 1

Figure 7 Displaced person index card

After the war, all of the interviewees I spoke to, experienced a feeling of 'transit' – unsure of how long they would stay in this place and what their future would hold, whether they could return to Transylvania, settle in Austria or move to another country such as Germany or the USA. Whilst some managed to look beyond their loss and seemingly hopeless situation and recognised some similarities between their old hometowns and Salzburg, it was being granted building permission, the birth of their children in Austria and finally, gaining Austrian citizenship that resolved their view of Salzburg as a home and place to stay permanently. While the interviewees spoke of positive and negative experiences with the local Austrian population, they did not avoid contact with them and only mix with Transylvanian-Saxons. For some of the interviewees, living in a camp and meeting people from different parts of Transylvania taught them aspects of their culture that they might not have learned otherwise, such as speaking the dialect, cooking Transylvanian-Saxon recipes with the ingredients available, and talking about the customs and traditions "back home".

REPUBLIK ÖSTERREICH

Zahl 2473/LAD/1949

Urkunde

über die

Verleihung der Staatsbürgerschaft

Die Salzburger Landesregierung verleiht hiemit gemäß § 8 des Gesetzes vom 10. Juli 1945, St. G. Bl. Nr. 60, über den Erwerb und Verlust der Österreichischen Staatsbürgerschaft (Staatsbürgerschaftsgesetz)

Herrn Frau Dr.Ing. H a s e n e r Egon, Beruf Angestellter

wohnhaft in Zell am See, Postplatz 19

geboren am 3.8.1916 in Bergamo Italien

sowie dessen (deren) nicht eigenberechtigten ehelichen minderjährigen Kindern

1. Hasinlde, geboren am 27.6.1943 in Schwanau a.Ziller

2. -.-, geboren am -.- in -.-

3. -.-, geboren am -.- in -.-

4. -.-, geboren am -.- in -.-

die

Österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft.

Diese Verleihung erstreckt ihre Wirkung kraft Gesetzes auch auf die Ehegattin, sofern die Ehe im Zeitpunkte der Verleihung zu Recht besteht und nicht gerichtlich von Tisch und Bett geschieden ist.

Salzburg, am 27. April 1949

Amt der Landesregierung Salzburg

Für die Landesregierung:

Figure 8 Certificate of Austrian citizenship.

2.2 Contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons

I asked the interviewees to tell me if and to what extent they made an effort to stay in contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons over the years, specifically as a number of people I spoke to, lived outside settlements. However, with the decreasing number of first generation Transylvanian-Saxons in settlements such as Gneis, the question is relevant to all the interviewees. Was contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons more, or only, important at the beginning, when they were displaced persons and the majority had lost no material possessions or have friendships survived the initial communal feeling of hardship? Are there members of the first generation who preferred contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons to that with Austrians, and as a result, still mainly have Saxon friends today?

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mr and Mrs A have lived in the Gneis settlement for more than forty years.
The fact that they knew quite a few of the Transylvanian-Saxon refugees who were building houses in Gneis was a key motivational point for them to settle there, and they still praise the community spirit that continued long after the building work and financial hardship was gone[102]. They are still in regular contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons, primarily through their neighbours, but also through their daughters, who live in the Eichethof and Sachsenheim settlement. Mr A told me that he regrets there being only such a small number of people across all the generations who still attend the Landsmannschaft meetings or join the dancing group, but has to admit that he does not go to any of the meetings either. While he would like to see a future for the Transylvanian-Saxons and their traditions, he does not want to see this turn into an over glorified, false history: "You should not take everything some Transylvanian-Saxons say at face value. They tend, as they were brought up in this way, to pretend to be more than they are and that's stayed with us, we want to boast and say, "look at what we have achieved and what we are able to do", others can do it just as well, not everything is like it is presented, flowery and beautiful"[103].

[102] Later, the wife's family joined them in their new house, and while their first daughter lives close to their parents, in the Eichethof settlement and is married to an Austrian, the younger one married a second generation Transylvanian-Saxon from Sachsenheim by deliberate choice and went to live there.
[103] He added that, when comparing other ethnic German minority groups, the Transylvanian-Saxons might have had a fantastic German school system, while the Danube Swabians had to attend Hungarian schools at one stage, but that they were not superior to the other groups as some Transylvanian-Saxons try to insinuate.

Mr and Mrs B told me that they are still in regular contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons in Gneis but due to their age they hardly ever venture outside the settlement. However, they are in almost daily contact with their friends there, not just by acknowledging them on sight, and exchanging a few words, but by regular visits to each others' homes[104].

Mrs D told me that she felt part of the community within the Gneis/Eichethof settlement and knows quite a few Transylvanian-Saxons in the city, but is less familiar with those living in Sachsenheim. She also said she occasionally attended meetings of the Landsmannschaft. Asked whether she thought, if the recently built Protestant church in Gneis could make a difference to community life for all the generations, she said that she had only been to the church once, and thought it was quite ugly, adding that she generally only attends church for weddings, baptisms or funerals. Regarding furthering the community spirit, her opinion is that the church in Gneis might have made a difference had it been built earlier.

Figure 9 The recently built Protestant Church near Gneis

[104] As their granddaughter and great-granddaughter also lives with them, they do not require help from their neighbours with everyday tasks that they would otherwise be unable to cope with. Rather, they enjoy talking to the people who they have known for so long and whose lives are affected by change such as the death of a spouse, or the children moving outside the area

Mrs E said that while she is a member of the Landsmannschaft, she generally does not attend their meetings. However, she also said that she tends to have more contact with Transylvanian-Saxons than with Austrians[105].

Mrs G said that despite the fact that her husband and most of his friends were Austrians, she believes her best friends are Transylvanian-Saxons: "It is sad to admit this, especially after living here for sixty years, but I am just friendlier with the Transylvanian-Saxons." She attends the so-called Klausenburger meetings, which are held every two years[106].

Mr I worked as a treasurer for the Landsmannschaft and as a member of the supervisory board for 15 years, only retiring from his duties at the age of 87. He believes that the organisation is still going strong, although there is a lack of younger members. In his opinion, the Transylvanian-Saxon community of Sachsenheim have the strongest sense of identity compared to the rest of Salzburg's Transylvanian-Saxons and therefore a better chance for a future together.

Living in the city of Salzburg

Mrs J said that she still is in contact with many friends from Transylvania who also live in Austria, as well as Transylvanian-Saxons she has met here. With so many of her former Transylvanian-Saxon classmates in the local area, they hold a reunion in Salzburg every two years[107].

Mrs K's response was similar. Although not based in Salzburg herself, most of her Transylvanian-Saxon friends live there and she has been able to keep in contact with them on a regular basis. Her school friends are more spread out geographically than the previous interviewee's but they too organise reunions every few years[108].

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[105] Regarding differences between Austrians and Transylvanian-Saxons, she said: "I have got the feeling, that the Transylvanian-Saxons are a bit full of themselves. In terms of unity spirit, they are definitely better, they are looking out for each other more, that is true. And I think that this unity still exists. Most importantly, however, the Transylvanian-Saxons are incredibly industrious, as nearly all of them have got it made today".

[106] First generation members whose hometown is Klausenburg and their families meet up in Traunsee, where the group's trek initially stopped.

[107] Furthermore, she has been to many family reunions, although most of the first generation members of her family have now died and she is not sure whether the younger generation will continue to organise any further reunions.

[108] Furthermore, she has also attended her brother-in-law's school reunions, as she knows some of the people.

Mrs L told me that her husband and her (he died nearly 20 years ago) went to school reunions for several years, but as none of her childhood friends are still alive today, her only contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons is through her family.

Mrs M also only has a limited number of Transylvanian-Saxons friends and told me that she cannot understand why other refugees only stay in contact with each other, rather than making friends within the local population.

Living in rural area

Mr N and his classmates hold annual reunions in Goisern in Upper Austria: of 16 original attendants, 9 were present at their last meeting. His wife and he are members of the choir and the Landsmannschaft[109]. While his grandsons were, at one stage, involved with a group for young Transylvanian-Saxons themselves, this group was eventually dissolved.

[109] The interviewee himself worked for the Landsmannschaft in Vöcklabruck and Salzburg for many years, and is particularly proud of the community house that his colleagues and he had built after they bought a plot in Vöcklabruck.

2.3 Post-War Travel to Transylvania

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mr and Mrs A cannot recall exactly when they first went back to Transylvania, but told me that there had been several years between their departure and return. While Mrs A's parents had been able to flee and stay with the interviewees, Mr A's parents and sister were still in South Transylvania. Prior to this first visit they had been in contact with their family and friends through letters, but they had not been prepared for just how much the situation had changed since they had left: "The first impression of Transylvania was sad, very sad. We were welcome as tourists but we were stopped from seeing anything else, shielded from everything else" (by the police on orders by the Romanian government)[110]. When the husband went to Kronstadt, he found out that his cousin, a jeweller and watchmaker, had been thrown out of his home and shop and now had to live in a barn with his family. When he returned to visit them a few years later (by this time they had been able to find a property to live in), his cousin still was subjected to regular raids by the authorities who pestered him for gold and jewellery and would not accept the fact that he had been unable to hide any valuables. The interviewee also discovered that he was being followed upon leaving his hotel and that his relatives would be questioned after each visit on the nature of their conversations[111].

Mr and Mrs C have equally disturbing stories to tell: her mother and young sister initially remained in Transylvania but were worried about the Russians and fled to Czechoslovakia. But when they were told to go back their property and other

[110] "This means we were not allowed to go where we wanted to, not allowed to talk with whom we wanted to; when we arrived in Hermannstadt and we were registered, meaning that the relatives were aware when we would arrive, my uncle and his family waited for us, they stood there and we departed from the coach, but they did not let us greet them, shake their hand or anything else. We somehow managed to exchange a few words with them, but then had to go inside the hotel. In this hotel, a table was prepared in a hall for all the travellers, and chairs were arranged around the walls of the room, just like in a dance hall". It then emerged that the travellers were not allowed to be joined by their families at the table and only after a few protests were their relatives allowed to sit on the chairs at the edge of the room and had to watch them eat.

[111] In one bizarre incident, the interviewee was approached by a Transylvanian-Saxon (whom he did not know previously), who told him that he was in possession of papers from Japan which detailed an invention that would allow cars to run without fuel and asked the interviewee to take him with him to Austria. While the interviewee was immediately suspicious of the story (how would a Transylvanian-Saxon living in Romania get hold of a Japanese invention), he was unsure about the background of the story: was this a set-up by the secret police to test a Transylvanian-Saxon visiting his home or was this man just desperate to leave the Communist Regime and thought he could only persuade somebody to smuggle him into the West by making a promise of wealth? While the interviewee felt sympathy with him, especially having seen the conditions the Transylvanian-Saxons had to live in himself, he felt that there was no way that he could help this man; he was too worried about the consequences that this would mean for his family in Transylvania, if he were to be found out at the border.

belongings had all been taken away, and for the first time in her life the interviewee's mother had to look for a job to survive[112]. Roma were moved into their old property. Mrs C first travelled to Transylvania again in 1960: her sister, who was 8 years old when she had last seen her, had just married. Her mother was now living in a house which her husband had bought and where she was allowed to stay in some of the rooms, while others were occupied by residents who had been selected by the state. Her main marital home had been completely taken away from her and was now occupied by the Romanian military. Overall, the interviewee believes she travelled to Transylvania on at least seven occasions: "My impression of Transylvania: awful. If everything had at least come to a standstill but it seemed to have fallen back by a hundred years. ... When you went past a field you could see (Romanian) people working and there were boxes with sweet-corn and potatoes. After two weeks, everything was still there, even if it had been raining. They just did not do anything – they got their monthly wages but they did not do anything."

Mrs D decided against travelling back to Transylvania after she was told by relatives that she might not recognise much from before she left: "They have torn our house down and built skyscrapers on our land. The whole original exclusive residential area has been turned into concrete buildings, and I am not really interested in that". Furthermore, none of the interviewee's relatives had stayed in Transylvania.

Mrs E returned to Transylvania only once – about 20 years ago – and was put off by this one experience to make any further visits. Apart from no Saxons being left in her hometown, she was also disappointed that she could only see her parents' house from the outside, as there was nobody in to let her take a look around the inside.

Mrs F visited Transylvania on several occasions as a member of the choir, but her first trip back was through a travel agency. Like other interviewees, she was not supposed to leave her group but nevertheless decided to visit her mother. Unlike others I spoke to, however, she was not too fazed by the changes in her hometown: "Of course, the city (Hermannstadt) had changed a lot, but it is interesting, that while I acknowledged those changes, in my mind I just saw it as it used to be". However,

[112] Another relative, the interviewee's aunt, who had been very wealthy before the war, tried to find employment as a seamstress. However, she was made redundant when her employers discovered that she had never actually learned this trade. It was only when some sympathetic co-workers and acquaintances gave her some fabrics and sowing materials to work at home that she was able to earn some money. As this was illegal she was constantly worried about being found out. Relatives of the husband had to move out of their flat and live in a pigsty.

her mother's life had changed overnight – she was told to vacate her property within 24 hours and move into a single room[113].

Mrs G, who had still been in her teens when she left Transylvania, returned to her old home on several occasions and was able to learn more about Transylvanian-Saxon culture and history: "I have to say that my first trip to Transylvania was a trip home, but I also wanted to know more about the Transylvanian-Saxons as I knew too little about traditions and history even though I was born there. And I was very pleased and satisfied and thought that even if it is called Transylvania, we are not so far 'behind the woods'. The fact alone that within 30 years of Luther publishing his theses, all Transylvanian-Saxons were Protestants shows that we were always able to be in contact with Austria and Germany at least on a cultural basis, and I am very proud of this to be honest".
Unlike other interviewees, the impression of her parents' house was a positive one, as it was in a very good condition and had had extensive work done to it[114].

Mrs H took one of the earliest opportunities to travel back to Transylvania; shortly after Stalin's death. She already knew that a lot had changed, especially as she had been informed of the death of her beloved father at the end of the war. However, having to confront the changes in her hometown where her family had once not just been immensely wealthy but also influential, was an experience she could not have prepared for: while her mother had been allowed to remain in one of the rooms of their large house, she was subjected to continuous raids[115]. A large percentage of the interviewee's family had been deported to Russia, and had severely been affected by the experience. However, the interviewee found some comfort in the fact that there were still a number of relatives living close by to look after her mother (she later tried to arrange for her mother to come to Austria as well: initially her mother was reluctant to go, then, when she did want to leave Transylvania, the authorities prevented her from doing so, and finally only granted the permission one day after her death). In order to improve her mother's situation, the interviewee would use the money she could save not only to travel to Transylvania a few times a year, but also to bring back items that were difficult to get in Romania and sold well through the black market, such as tights, lipsticks or condoms. On most occasions, her mother would

[113] As it was impossible for her to store all her possessions there straight away, she moved some into the cellar of her old house. When she returned the next day to collect some of them, they had all gone.
[114] This makes the interviewee believe that it is not just a property of the state but has been sold to a wealthy or influential person.
[115] In her fear and desperation the interviewee's mother had even flushed some of her jewellery down the toilet in order to avoid them falling into the hands of the state.

give her some of her belongings to take back to Austria: her old school exercise books, jewellery, silver cutlery and other small things that the interviewee would smuggle out of Romania. Interestingly, despite the implications of this (not only that the items might be confiscated but that any friends and relatives of a smuggler could be severely punished and put into prison), most of the first generation interviewees I spoke to, would take belongings back with them illegally. In order to avoid their car from being searched and pass through customs more quickly, many would also bribe the officials at the border control.

In the first few years after the war, however, most settlers would have been most concerned for a reunion with their family: Mr I had to wait for 12 years until his wife and three daughters were granted permission to leave Transylvania for Austria. With several of their relatives remaining in Hermannstadt, the family returned to visit them at least once a year. Even now one of the interviewee's sisters still lives there and while five years have passed since he last went to visit her (the interviewee is 92 years of age), he continues to send her parcels and money to support her.

Living in the city of Salzburg

Mrs J did not return to Transylvania before 1976, travelling there with her Austrian husband, who enjoyed the experience so much, that he suggested going back at least once a year. Sadly, he died soon after, and since the interviewee did not undertake any further journeys to Transylvania by herself, means that she never returned to her home town Tekendorf, as her only trip back had been to South Transylvania. However, she was very familiar with Hermannstadt, so seeing the contrasting images to what she remembered from more than 20 years ago, hurt a lot: "when you walk down the Heltauer Gasse (a main road in Hermannstadt), you only hear Romanian, and when you see the gypsies in the Transylvanian-Saxon houses, that hurts a lot. That's just the most obvious, and of course the Transylvanian-Saxon villages have also gone to rack and ruins. If I am honest, I nearly choked on my food sometimes and I really did not feel like returning again soon afterwards." However, she also experienced "magical moments", such as hearing a famous Transylvanian-Saxon organist play in the main church of Kronstadt.

Mrs K also returned to Transylvania at a relatively late date, in 1974, a disappointing experience for her, as most of the Saxons in her hometown had left. Her husband did not want to see their former houses from the inside, as not only would it make the

new residents uncomfortable but because the experience would upset them too much. Still, not seeing her parents' home properly seems to be a big regret for the interviewee now. One positive aspect of her journey was a visit to the rectory where her grandfather had been pastor, and where she found a huge gold-framed portrait of him on display; however, she was unable to purchase it and take it back to Germany.

Mrs L, who left Transylvania after the war, never travelled back, even though she would have loved to have seen her home again. The reason for this was: "Fear! I think had this recurring dream for 25 years, every night, that I am in Transylvania, being chased, I cannot escape. I even dreamt I went back to Transylvania and was put into prison without being released. There was just this fear that manifested itself so strongly that I could not face travelling back". The interviewee added that as she was still in Transylvania after 1945, she already experienced certain changes to her hometown[116].

Mrs M still had several relatives in Transylvania, her sister and brother amongst them, and as soon as she was able to do so, she went back every two years, with suitcases full of items she believed would be useful to them, such as tights or instant soups. She was more shocked about her relatives' living conditions than how Transylvania's cities and landscapes had changed – and felt guilty and humble about them coping under such changed circumstances.

Living in rural area

Mr N first went back to Transylvania as relief worker that took supplies to the region. In this function, he would return on several occasions, especially after 1989, when he went as many as five to six times a year. He recalled that during the 1950s, the border checks had been especially uncomfortable, with certain supplies deemed forbidden and confiscated by the police. However, the interviewee also had a specific personal reason to travel to Transylvania, so soon after the war: his fiancée (now wife) still lived in Hermannstadt and was not allowed to leave Romania until 1959. On one occasion, he was able to visit his hometown of Sächsisch-Reen and see his family's house. Even though the property appeared thoroughly desolate, with all its

[116] Within a very short time, Hermannstadt turned from an almost exclusively German town into a Romanian one, especially the town centre, and where one would have expected to mainly hear German before, it now seemed that everyone was talking Romanian.

window panes broken, holes in the roof and missing roof tiles, it had been split into two flats, which were still inhabited.

With a mixture of interviewees from North and South Transylvania, some of the interviewees came to Austria with many of their relatives, while practically the entire family of others was still in their old hometown. It appears that while most of the interviewees from South Transylvania travelled back for the first time as early as the mid-fifties, the North Transylvanians waited until the mid-sixties or seventies, sometimes not even visiting their hometowns but other places. There is also a clear distinction between North and South Transylvanians in respect to the overall number of journeys they undertook (Figure 10): it appears that those, who had been able to leave with their entire family, were generally more ready to draw a line under their loss, accepting that they would have little or no chance of getting their property back and thus focused on their life in Austria instead. In contrast, interviewees, whose immediate family members had remained in Transylvania, could not make a similar "decision" in terms of closure. The trips back home for them were no holiday, but a mere necessity to see their loved ones and improve their living conditions, at a time when they were not well off themselves yet, meaning they often had to save for an entire year before their next journey. Some interviewees also tried to persuade authorities to let their relatives leave Romania, although this could sometimes take years and was not always successful[117].

117 This, furthermore, would have caused frustration and anger to the individual and might have resulted in some being more determined to tell others that they were from Transylvania rather than Romania when asked about their background.

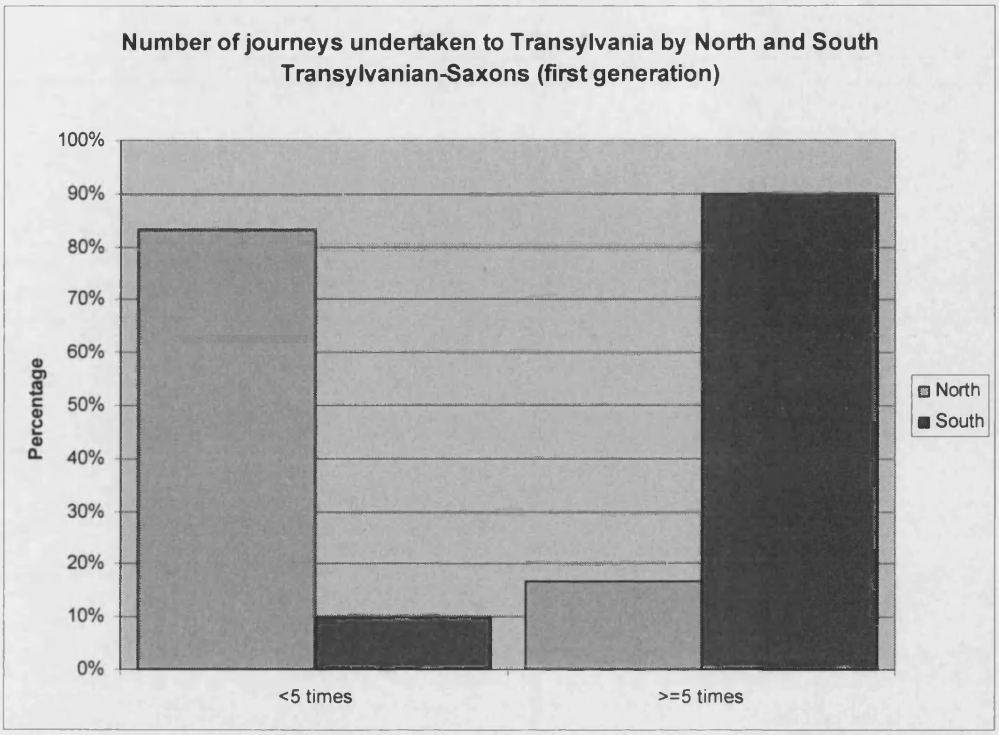

Figure 10 Travel to Transylvania according to North-South Transylvanian origin by the interviewees

2.4 Transylvanian-Saxon items on display in the interviewees' homes

As the previous answers have indicated, the interviewees who had fled by trek or train, were unable to take many of their belongings with them, and sometimes had to exchange them for vital food items or clothing at a later stage. Those, who left Transylvania after the war, were also restricted in what they could take with them; in the case of the interviewees who crossed the borders illegally, this only meant one rucksack each. The interviewees who had been Prisoners of War had any valuables taken off them in the camps. Those who already lived outside of Transylvania during the war had left their most valued or precious belongings at home and then found themselves cut off and unable to travel home for several years. As most North Transylvanians had left simultaneously, those returning there after the war were unlikely to find any of their old belongings, let alone be able to access their former properties. In South Transylvania, however, many still had relatives who had been able to hide or keep valuables and items of sentimental value, and some of them had been allowed to stay in their old properties, albeit in one or two rooms only. While I mainly spoke to the interviewees about the belongings they still have from Transylvania to find out if they still display them and what those items mean to them, it was also interesting to discover to what kind of length otherwise professional, hard-working people can go, in order to ensure that material goods of sometimes sentimental value would stay in their possession or that of their family.

Figure 11 Transylvanian-Saxon jugs in an interviewee's home

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mrs A's father was not only the mayor of Dürrbach, but also its curate and took all the books and registers belonging to the Dürrbach Church with him, when the village was evacuated[118]. Once in Austria, the interviewee's family handed the majority of items to the Protestant Church, kept others, such as the family book of Dürrbach, which contained information about all individual families. Mr and Mrs A decided to transfer this data into a typed format[119], which meant several months of work. While they have decided to keep the original rather than give it to the Landsmannschaft or Siebenbürgen Institut for the time being, they have considered to eventually donate it to an organisation, as they are worried about what might happen to it otherwise[120].

Mr and Mrs C told me that while they are displaying a number of paintings depicting Transylvanian-Saxon landscapes and cities, they did not manage to bring many 'old' belongings back with them. One of the few things, a china-set, has been passed on to their daughter.

Mrs D fled with her mother by train, with just a suitcase containing a few clothes. Her father left by horse trek and only took his radio, rather than items of more sentimental value with him, a decision the interviewee still cannot understand. She held on to a rug, on which her mother and her had slept on during their journey to Austria, for many years, despite the fact that it had become frayed and unsightly. Eventually, however, she decided to throw it away. Now, she only displays a few handicrafts that friends have brought back for her from Transylvania, although these works are not strictly Transylvanian-Saxon.

Mrs E has no 'old' items from her family at all, but is collecting Transylvanian-Saxon jugs, which she had either bought in Transylvania or which friends have brought back from their trips. Furthermore, she has got a few embroidered cushions and throws, which she also bought in recent years.

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[118] This proved an especially good decision in later years, as it was forbidden to take books and documents out of Romania

[119] However, the work proved harder than expected due to the way the original data had been taken down: "the way the vicar noted it down, when daughter Mary married into another family, then she would no longer appear in her first but in the second family. You needed a compass to find your way around it, who married into which house. But then, they also changed the house numbers on three occasions, and eventually not all necessary changes were made by the vicar anymore, which made it really hard to match families, marriages and house numbers."

[120] As most of the former residents of Dürrbach now live in Austria, they are hoping for it to stay here rather than to be taken to the Siebenbürgen Institut in Germany.

Mrs F went to great lengths in taking items from her parents' home to Austria, dismantling several chairs and then bringing the individual pieces back over several journeys. Returning from Transylvania with the choir on one occasion, she wrapped a chair's upholstery it in paper and asked other choir members to rest their feet on them, when they reached the border controls. Her mother also managed to send her some paintings through the ministry. While the interviewee has kept some of her belongings from Transylvania, she has passed the materially valuable things on to her daughter.

As Mrs G was unaware at the time she left Transylvania, that she would not return home, she took hardly anything with her but frequent relocation over the course of the next few years meant that she lost those few things as well. While she therefore does not have any family heirlooms, the number of Transylvanian items displayed in her home, is truly impressive: a large collection of books, several maps, which hang framed on the walls and lots of decorative embroidery on walls and cushions. It is obvious from the whole interior that Transylvanian-Saxon culture interests her and means a lot to this interviewee.

Mrs H is perhaps the most daring that I spoke to in terms of 'transferring' items from her old to her new home: on almost all the journeys she made to Transylvania over nearly 40 years, she would return with items from her parents' home: on some occasions, this could be valuables such as silver cutlery and jewellery that her relatives had hidden away, sometimes more sentimental belongings, such as her old school exercise books, clothes that she had worn as a child and even a horseshoe that had decorated a part of her parents' home. On some occasions she asked friends from the settlement or even 'professional' black marketers to bring back individual pieces of dismantled furniture, which were then restored and now form part of her own living room as well as her daughter's. Her father's doctorate award certificates (both handwritten) hang framed above her bed, while some books from her parents' library take pride of place in the bookshelf. While most of these items are undoubtedly in use or on display, and it is unlikely that they still would exist had they stayed in Romania, their sheer quantity also indicate a certain lack of concern for her relatives in Transylvania and the implications being 'caught' would have meant for them[121].

[121] The interviewee agrees that the risk she undertook (at the time of her first trips her two daughters were still at school) was considerable for herself, but she is certain that the consequences, had she ever been caught, would have been a lot worse for her family who was already disadvantaged through their

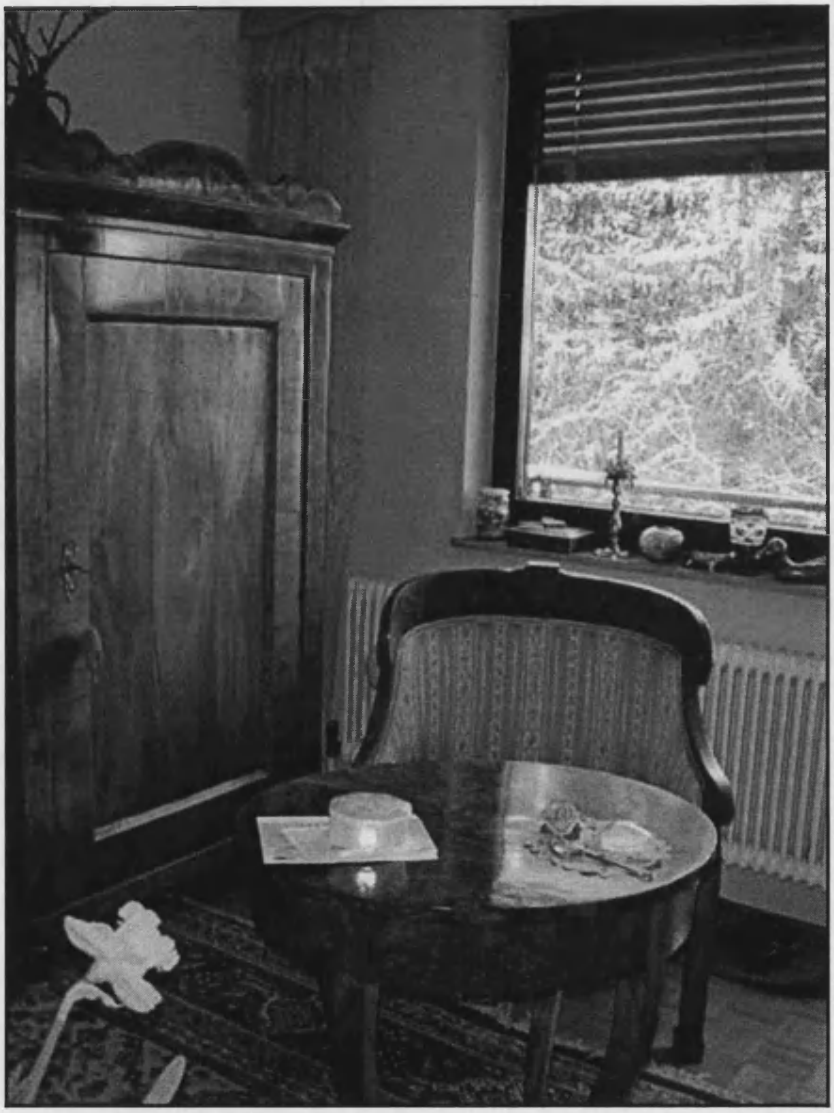

Figure 12 Furniture smuggled out of Transylvania and restored

In contrast, Mr I only has one piece of furniture from Transylvania – a small chest of drawers – as he was unwilling to take the risk of being caught with 'illegal' items such as carpets, rugs and books. Any other item connected to Transylvanian-Saxon culture in his house was bought new – pictures, rugs and jugs, which are displayed throughout the property.

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former upper-class and intellectual status. On the other hand, it was perhaps the fact that her mother felt that after being robbed of this, she now had nothing to lose in a way and encouraged her daughter to take as much of what would have otherwise been her inheritance, with her.

Living in the city of Salzburg

Mrs J was unable to take anything from her parents' house and the only 'old' item still in her possession is her traditional Transylvanian-Saxon costume. While she has got some pictures (one of the house that she grew up) and vases (bought on her one trip to Transylvania or brought back by friends and relatives), she mainly has books about Transylvanian-Saxon history and culture with which to reflect her roots.

Mrs K has dedicated an entire room to Transylvanian-Saxon culture: her parents, like some other wealthy city dwellers, had a so-called 'farmers or country room' in their home and the interviewee has used the memory of this room to furnish hers in a similar way[122]. Apart from a few silver spoons, which she inherited from an aunt and her parents' diaries she has got no 'old' possessions from her youth or parents' home.

Mrs L, on the other hand, chose to not put up 'Transylvanian' items in her home and only received a few items from her parents' house when relatives left Transylvania to live in Germany at a later stage: she has got a vase and a couple of glasses, but does not give those items a particularly prominent display in her flat.

Mrs M has only got a few items left from the time when she left Transylvania, such as clothing and a few documents. On her journeys to Transylvania after the war she bought some rugs, pictures anvd jugs, which she has put up in her flat.

Living in rural area

Mr P told me that his parents left Transylvania with hand luggage only but that his father, in preparation for their return, put most of the furniture in a couple of rooms and locked them carefully[123]. As the houses in his hometown were almost immediately inhabited by Romanian families, it meant that there was no chance for former residents to retrieve any of their belongings, and all the Transylvanian items in his home today, were bought after the war.

[122] She bought an old wardrobe and decorated it herself with Transylvanian-Saxon motives, a table with a Transylvanian-Saxon tablecloth and of course, lots and lots of Transylvanian-Saxon jugs.
[123] However, when the trek left the village, a small number of older people did not want to join them. To offer them the chance to change their mind the interviewee's father, as trek leader, returned with some German soldiers and already found a large number of people looting the shops of the town. Most of the old people, who remained, committed suicide when the Russians marched in

There is hardly any interviewee who has not kept at least one item to remind them sentimentally of either Transylvania or their family. One person said that she does not put any Transylvanian item on view in her home, but that is due to the fact that the few items she inherited from her family are not suitable for display.
Depending on their geographical background, there is a split between interviewees who still have 'old' family items and those with only new or self-made ones. One interviewee's living and other rooms are covered in traditional handicraft and embroidery work, all of them new items, as the interviewee was unable to save anything from her parents' home. Transylvania-related subjects seem to form a big part of her life, as she also reads about its history and is a member of the Landsmannschaft and choir. Other interviewees, who did not manage to save any of their childhood or family items, became strongly involved in the Landsmannschaft by taking on official positions. Those, however, who had the opportunity to retrieve some items of sentimental or family value, through relatives and travel to their old home, often took the chance of smuggling those items across the border. Despite the fact that their actions were illegal and could have resulted in confiscation, fines, or even prison sentences for their relatives in Transylvania, the interviewees do not think that they have done anything "wrong". Even small items of no apparent value such as a child's first toy or old documents are suddenly elevated in the prominence they receive in display. The interviewees have now passed some of the items on to their children and grandchildren, and are content in the knowledge that they will remain within their family and their significance is going to be remembered.

2.5 Attempts at reclaiming property in Transylvania

While many North Transylvanian-Saxons locked up their properties, believing they would be back within two weeks but then got evacuated, those South Transylvanian-Saxons who had not been transported to Russia were often ordered to vacate part or all of their property to make room for Romanian and Roma families. In North Transylvania, the majority of residents had gone, meaning that the State had no difficulty in gaining access to these 'abandoned' properties[124]. In recent years, calls for restitution of properties and land have grown and there seem to be some efforts by the Romanian state, perhaps in an effort to the aid the EU membership application, to return land and houses to their original owners. I spoke to the interviewees about their thoughts on getting back property in Romania and whether they had undertaken any action in this respect.

Gneis/Eichethof Settlement

Mr and Mrs A have considered applying to get back their properties but the husband told me: "We will not go ahead with it – there is no point – it would drag on for years and years, maybe even a decade, especially as long as they are not part of the EU"[125]. He added that he might have considered returning straight after the war, when his wife's parents house would still have been in a reasonably good state, but that there was no prospect of getting the property back then.

Mrs B is the only one I spoke to, whose family decided to sell their property and leave Transylvania in 1942, meaning they were able to sell the house at a fair price and make a profit on the sale. She also said that her father had the feeling that the situation in Transylvania would not improve, which was the reason why he decided to sell up. She believes that while it was sad to see the family home change ownership,

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[124] As has been mentioned in previous sections, interviewees' families in South Transylvania were forced to live in one or two rooms of their old house, or even in stables and rundown places in inhuman conditions. However, the state paid no money for all these houses and flats it had suddenly gained and only in later years, Transylvanian-Saxons looking to leave Romania were able to sell their properties to the state, commonly far below their value.

[125] "As long as Romania is not part of the EU it is hopeless, as it won't be the Romanian State deciding whether I will get something back or not, but some kind of town or village governor, who acts on his own discretion and the government seems to tolerate it. We read in the Siebenbürger Zeitung again and again that there are constant complaints... some of them seem to get something back, but it is not certain that if you get something back, it will be proper compensation, especially if the state has sold on your former house, or another house has been built on your plot, and then give you a property somewhere in the mountains, which is worthless, and there is no point starting a dispute; for every year, year after year, the running costs will go up, for the notary, state support or solicitor, all costs that build up and put a strain on your psyche."

the decision proved to be the right one in the end, as the family were able to live from the money over the next few years.

Mr and Mrs C know somebody who bought his property back from the Romanian State and uses it as a holiday home. Regarding applying for restitution, the wife told me that her cousin had recently considered pursuing a claim but then found out that he would be compensated in stock shares. Furthermore, if there had been a debt outstanding on the property, the interviewee's cousin would have been liable to pay it off. If the property was actually returned to the original owner, it would be very costly to undertake all the necessary repairs as hardly any improvements have been made to the properties in the last 60 to70 years[126].

Mrs D who has never returned to Transylvania, has heard from friends that her family's home has been torn down, and has not even considered applying for compensation: "We would hardly be likely to receive anything, as the Romanian state is so poor, how should they compensate us? This generation will soon be gone and whereas I would still be eligible, rest assured that the next generation won't be, so you can forget about it."

While a couple of other interviewees of the Gneis/Eichethof settlement did not talk about plans for applying for reinstatement of their property ownership, two of them said that spoken to a Transylvanian-Saxon solicitor in Munich, who specialises in restitution claims in Romania. At the time of my interview, Mrs G was still waiting to hear back from the solicitor, after submitting all her documents to prove eligibility. Mrs H, who left Transylvania to study, believed that as she had not fled her home, her chances of receiving compensation for her property, might be better than those of other applicants[127]. As the money compensation she was offered for the property, (an 18th century building which originally had ten rooms and was first used as an officers' casino) did not live up to her expectations she is now trying to offer it to different charities[128].

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[126] As the interviewees cannot envisage going back to live in Transylvania or just keep the property as a holiday home and be dependent on others to look after it during their absence, they are not considering applying for restitution.

[127] Furthermore, when her mother died, she travelled to Transylvania to formalise the inheritance process and had registered this with the official bodies in 1967. However, through the solicitor she had to discover that the house she had grown up in had been split into several flats and had partly been sold to the new residents by the state.

[128] The house would require extensive repair work and at the time of the interview she had not been able to find anybody willing to take it.

Mr I told me that he had also applied to regain ownership of his property but was not sure whether he would want it back if its condition was very poor. He had also been told that he might be offered shares in lieu of his property but expressed doubts as to whether the Romanian state would be able to honour any such pledges and compensate everybody fairly.

Living in the city of Salzburg

Mrs J told me that her sister had returned to their hometown on several occasions and that while the mayor there is a Transylvanian-Saxon, there are hardly any Saxons left in the area. Her parents' house was used as a hospital for many years but as a new hospital was built recently, the house might now be turned into a boarding school. As this means that the property has remained in a relatively good condition, and more importantly has mainly been used for good causes, the interviewee seemed happy with its fate and did not mention applying for restitution rights or compensation.

Mrs L called the idea of getting anything back from the Romanian state "utopic" and while she conceded that her family had lost a lot of property and land, she will not be making an application as it would be "hopeless".

Figure 13 Interviewee's family home in Transylvania

Living in rural area

After Mr N had seen the state his parents' house was in, he spoke to the current residents of the property at the time and they enquired at the property management company as to whether any repairs would be planned. Their response was that they would not consider any maintenance work, as the property would soon be torn down. However, as the structural condition of the property was still good the building was not demolished, and at present three parties remain resident in the house, two of which have bought the two rooms they live in. When the interviewee applied for restitution of this house and another property, he was contacted by the third party living in his parents' house by letter; saying that they had heard that he had got the property back and whether they could stay in the property until they had got enough money to buy their 'flat'. In reality, the interviewee is still waiting to hear back from the officials after handing in documents proving that his parents are dead and that he is indeed the lawful heir.

Like with other aspects concerning Transylvania and their identity, the interviewees have rather contrasting views on the application for the restitution of property in Transylvania and the chances of seeing it returned. Some know that their old home has already been torn down, or have no faith that the legal process in Romania would ever work in their favour. They are suspicious that while they would have to invest a lot of money in solicitors, paperwork and repairs of the property, there would always be some hidden clause. Regardless of these concerns, about a third of interviewees are currently in the process of applying for restitution or trying to influence the future of their homes, by trying to find a charity willing to restore it. One interviewee was just content in the knowledge that her parents' house had been kept in a good condition and had been used for charitable purposes. I think this is something most interviewees would be happy with, the knowledge that, in a way, something representing their family and identity in Transylvania will outlive them.

2.6 Feeling of identity among the first generation today

Although I expected that most of the interviewees would still see themselves as Transylvanian-Saxon, they have also been Austrian residents for nearly 60 years and Austrian passport holders for about 50 years, and I wondered whether any of them would admit to also feeling at least partially "Austrian" or whether they would consider themselves as having an Austrian identity. In most cases, the interviewees still have a distinctive accent, even if they spoke High German whilst in Transylvania, and I thought that this might be, albeit perhaps subconsciously, a factor contributing to them not feeling Austrian.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mr A told me that Salzburg has become his home and that he feels he is an Austrian, as well as a Transylvanian-Saxon. However, he is also sad that the assimilation process has taken so little time in comparison with other Transylvanian-Saxons living in the USA or Canada, who are still able to teach the Transylvanian-Saxon dialect to their children. His wife, on the other hand, still feels that she still is completely Transylvanian-Saxon.

Mr and Mrs C said that while they settled in well in Austria and enjoy living in the settlement, they still both feel completely Transylvanian-Saxon.

Despite having an Austrian mother, and coming to Austria when she was in her teens, Mrs D feels she is a Transylvanian-Saxon, perhaps because her mother had identified with the people so well and was homesick for Transylvania when she was in Austria. Another reason for this could be that Mrs D never married or had children, and spent long years caring for her father before his death. Having lived in the Gneis settlement all her life, she has stayed in contact with all the Transylvanian-Saxon first generation settlers and with some of their children.

Mrs E, who was only 14 when she arrived in Austria, also feels completely Transylvanian-Saxon and always has done. She would find it strange to describe herself as an Austrian now.

Mrs G who was also still a teenager when she left Transylvania, told me: "16 years in Transylvania and the rest of it –60 soon- in Austria, but I cannot say what I am, something in between perhaps, I don't really know. When I am in Austria, I often think, what is the point of all this nostalgia, you are here now, you've had your family here, you've had your job here and everything else, and when I am in Transylvania, then, I don't know, I just feel home there, too"[129].

Mrs H told me that Salzburg, apart perhaps from Vienna is the only Austrian town she would have considered moving to, but she does not feel it has become her new home. She enjoys the beauty of the old city and the cosmopolitan flair of the summer festivals, but would never consider herself as a local, as she feels that local attitudes can be too small-minded and provincial[130].

Living in the city of Salzburg

Mrs K told me that while she still principally feels she is Transylvanian-Saxon, she also actively tried to integrate into her new home country: "I did not like to see when some others said that they were not interested in assimilating, you have to try to adapt to the country you live in. And despite my husband and I adapting, we never lost this Transylvanian-Saxon feeling, and it is interesting to see that others feel exactly the same, as if they had spent a lifetime there, although I left when I was 23, 24 years old. You will find the same to be true with all Transylvanian-Saxons. I still feel, I have to say, an extremely big attachment".

Mrs L despite having never seen Transylvania again since 1948, still considers Hermannstadt as her home and says she could not consider herself as an Austrian, although she is immensely grateful for the opportunities that she has received here.

[129] "Especially, when I went the last time in 2001, it was not just me who said that Klausenburg has got the best quality of life of all the towns we visited. I am not just saying that because I was born there. And then I visited my parents' house, just from outside and I had the feeling, of 'just take your key out of your pocket and open the door and say, I am home'".

[130] She told me that she is more homesick for Transylvania now than in the first years in Austria after the war and if the situation in Transylvania would have been the same it is now 20 years ago that she would have moved back there.

Living in rural area

Mr N describes himself as a Transylvanian-Saxon at heart, who has adapted to the situation and circumstances and has thus become an Austrian. If somebody asks him about his home, he will say "I have three homes. The first one is where I was born, that is Sächsisch-Reen, the second one is Hermannstadt, where I learnt my trade and met my wife, and the third one is Vöcklabruck. Salzburg would now be the fourth one". Like another interviewee, he also stated that it is important to integrate oneself and be happy with what you have.

2.7 Traditions interviewees still follow

As most of the interviewees I spoke to had been in their teens or twenties when they left Transylvania and the majority being from a city background, I was not sure whether many of them would have followed or are still following any Transylvanian-Saxon traditions. I expected the most likely answers to be that the interviewees follow Transylvanian-Saxon recipes, go to Protestant mass regularly, or perhaps occasionally wear their traditional national costume to certain events.

Gneis/Eichethof Settlement

Mr and Mrs A told me that apart from cooking Transylvanian-Saxon recipes and celebrating name day, they also enjoy attending the so-called 'Blasi' celebration in Elixhausen every year in May, where they take pleasure in listening to traditional music and watching performances by the Transylvanian-Saxon dance group. Furthermore, they still talk in Transylvanian-Saxon dialect to each other and others in the community.

Mrs C said that when her husband worked for a firm together with other Transylvanian-Saxons, it was common for them to share some zuika, a type of Schnapps, during their break. She cannot speak the Transylvanian-Saxon dialect as her parents only ever conversed in High German with each other, and she therefore never learnt it.

Mrs D told me that while she mainly cooks Transylvanian-Saxon dishes and collects recipes for Transylvanian-Saxon cakes, she does not really follow any other traditions and never has done. She never joined a club such as the dancing group or choir, where she would have been expected to attend every week. Her mother being originally Austrian, her parents only spoke High German to each other and her and she therefore never learnt the Transylvanian-Saxon dialect.

Mrs E gave a similar answer, saying that she does not follow any traditions and that she does not like the idea of a membership at a club. She told me that she likes to cook Transylvanian-Saxon dishes but when I asked her which ones, she seemed to struggle to name three of them.

Mr I told me that he regarded community spirit and the Transylvanian-Saxons' close relationship to the church as a tradition, that not only he but also most others still follow. Surprisingly though, he was one of the few interviewees who actually mentioned the importance of religion for the Transylvanian-Saxons on his own accord and without being asked outright about it.

Living in the city of Salzburg

Mrs K told me that she only experienced the practise of traditions within the community when she was still in Austria, such as, for example, "sprinkling" at Easter. She was unable to cook at the time of leaving Transylvania but remembered some of the dishes she had eaten when she had lived there and over the years has taught herself to cook some of them. As mentioned previously, she has decorated a wardrobe with Transylvanian-Saxon motifs herself.

Living in rural area

Mr N was the only other interviewee, who mentioned the importance of church in connection with Transylvanian-Saxon identity and tradition. While he acknowledged that even in Transylvania the tendency to attend as a whole community was restricted to villages and countryside towns rather than cities, he highlighted its importance for everyday life in general[131]. On a personal level, the interviewee still speaks the Transylvanian-Saxon dialect with his wife and friends, but did not mention any other traditions he follows.

Two of the interviewees stated that they believe they have an Austrian identity. However, both of them still speak the Transylvanian-Saxon dialect on a regular basis, have gone back to Transylvania on a number of occasions and are interested in events organised by the Landsmannschaft. They therefore have not tried to erase their Transylvanian-Saxon identity. Rather, they have come to accept that Austrian culture has made an impact on their life and identity; their accent may betray them from being mistaken for a native local but their knowledge of the local area and its development, as well as experiencing the country's traditions and history, has given them a sense of understanding for the Austrian culture.

[131] As a curate in Austria, however, he has noticed himself that there are hardly any younger people going to church, regardless where they live today. Overall though, he noticed that while the younger generations might not attend church on a regular basis, they do go once in a while and seem unwilling to break all ties with religious beliefs and practises.

Others acknowledge that they feel similar but that they would draw the line at calling themselves "Austrian". In their mind, the place they were born in and grew up dictates their national identity more than the place where they have spent most of their lives. Generally speaking, none of the interviewees tried to pretend that they are Austrian rather than Transylvanian-Saxons or hide their accents by using terms of the local dialect. While some of the interviewees married Austrians, and also have Austrian friends, they did not mention being part of any Austrian societies and said that their long-term or close friends are Transylvanian-Saxons.

2.8 Information passed on to children and grandchildren

The final area I want to look at concerns the information the interviewees have passed on to their younger relatives about Transylvania. All but one of the interviewees I talked to have children and grandchildren, with the majority living in the same town as them, or at least close by. While I expected that quite a few of the interviewees would have travelled to Transylvania with their children, old age might have prevented them from doing the same with their grandchildren, although changes in the political situation in Romania in the last 16 years might have made some more ready to consider it an option for a family holiday. I assumed that most people would tell younger relatives about their youth in Transylvania, experiences during the war and building a new life in Austria, as well as some traditions and recipes, and to a less respect, the history of Transylvania.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mr and Mrs A told me that they often talked to their children about what they considered to be "Transylvanian-Saxon values", and as Mr's A mother and grandmother were living with them, their daughters were able to receive views on the subject from three different generations. Mr A has written down his story for his grandchildren and future generations, in order to give them not only an idea of his childhood, youth and how the family coped during the first few years in Austria, but also about life in Transylvania in general and his experiences during the war[132]. Two of his three grandchildren were members of the Transylvanian-Saxon brass band, and each grandchild had a traditional outfit made for them. It was their grandparents' wish to have a photograph of all the grandchildren wearing their outfits and now the picture is proudly displayed on the wall.

Mrs D does not have any children or younger relatives herself. She believes that it will be difficult to pass on any Transylvanian-Saxon values and traditions once the first generation has died and thinks that only those third generation members that have dedicated grandparents or are members of Transylvanian dance or music organisations will still get glimpses of it. She also believes that people might be more

[132] The album also contains old photographs and other memorabilia, such as the confirmation of Austrian citizenship, which he and his wife received in 1953.

inclined to give their traditional outfits and other items to a museum rather than their younger relatives.

Mrs E said that while often talks to her children about her life in Transylvania and they still have some affinity for Saxon culture, she does not believe that they consider themselves to be Transylvanian-Saxons. Her grandchildren do not seem to be very interested in this part of their heritage and she believes that this is likely to be the norm. Given the high number of marriages between second generation Transylvanian-Saxons and Austrians, she does not believe that there will be a Landsmannschaft in Austria in 20 years' time.

Mrs F's grandchildren do not live in the Salzburg area and she has not been able to pass on as much information as she would about Transylvania as she would have liked to, although she has told them about her youth.

Mrs G told me that while her son loved listening to his grandfather's stories about Transylvania, he lost interest after his grandfather died when the boy was ten. He has shown no real interest in travelling to Transylvania, as he does not like the idea of being confronted by poverty. Although the interviewee has written down her memories, he has not shown any real interest in the family history either. As her grandchildren do not live Salzburg, she does see them frequently, and has had little chance to tell them about their Transylvanian-Saxon background in depth.

Mrs H initially only spoke in Saxon dialect to her first daughter in attempt to pass it on to her, but stopped, when girl started going to kindergarten, where all other children were Austrians, and had difficulties in understanding her. Furthermore, her husband's family had never spoken a dialect at home, and she decided not to teach it to her second daughter. As a consequence of growing up in the settlement, both her daughters were exposed to a high number of Saxon speakers, and while they did not learn to speak a dialect themselves, they are able to fully understand it. As some of her grandchildren have grown up in the same settlement, she believes that they are also be able to understand most of the dialect, and as they have got older they have started to show more interest in what certain words or terms. The interviewee has visited Transylvania with three of her grandchildren and has told all of them extensively about her youth, the family's history and history of Transylvania in general. She believes that while both her daughters still have a very good

knowledge about Transylvanian-Saxon culture and traditions, in the case of her grandchildren it varies depending on their own interest in the subject[133].

Living in the city of Salzburg

Mrs J told me that her (Austrian) husband was very interested in genealogy and as such researched his wife's family extensively, meaning that she has got quite a lot of information even about distant relatives in an album ready to pass on to her children and grandchildren. One of her grandchildren, especially, always asked to hear about her life in Transylvania, instead of a good-night-story when he was younger. Like other interviewees she has written her memoirs, in the form of anecdotes, as she believes that this way it will be more appealing for future generations to read.

Mrs K was asked by her son to write down her life-story, as he wanted to know more about his family's history and background[134]. Her second son was not particularly interested in the subject initially, but has since changed his mind after reading his mother's book. The interviewee has no grandchildren.

Mrs L told her daughter (who was born in Austria) about Transylvania but she did not seem particularly interested as she sees herself as completely Austrian. Her son however, was born in Transylvania and has shown a greater interest in Transylvanian-Saxon culture and his family's history. The interviewee's only grandchild knows some basic details through his grandmother, but like his mother, feels completely Austrian.

Mrs M did not get the chance to pass on as much information as she would have liked, to her daughter, as she spent most of her youth at a boarding school. However, she is now preparing a book of her memoirs for her daughter and grandchildren and ultimately hopes that they will be interested in reading them.

Living in rural area

Mr N travelled to Transylvania with his daughter when she was 12 and showed her not only the family's house but all the important towns there, as well as telling her about Transylvanian-Saxon history. Furthermore, he paid for both of his grandsons to travel to Canada in order to attend an international convention of Transylvanian-

[133] To remind her granddaughters of their family's heritage she had one piece of her mother's jewellery copied and given it as a present to each one of them. She has prepared as much information as possible about her family for future generations and has also prepared several photograph albums depicting her life in Transylvania and Austria.

[134] As a surprise for his mother he had it copied and bound and so she has been able to give it as a present to many of her friends and relatives

Saxons from all over the world. At the moment, he is instructing his oldest grandson on travelling to Transylvania, as he has expressed an interest in seeing the country for himself: his motive for the trip, however, is not the family history there, but rather his interest in the Dracula myth.

All the interviewees with children of their own have tried to raise an interest in their family's background with them: while not all feel that they have been successful in their attempts, they have not been put off by the idea and will endeavour to impart their family history to their grandchildren, happy and almost grateful when the younger generations express an interest. Those unable to see their relatives on a regular basis, write down the story of their lives, combining family anecdotes, Transylvanian-Saxon history and traditions, hoping that this might also encourage further general interest. Regarding the future of the Transylvanian-Saxons, a number of them were rather negative about the prospects of the official clubs and Landsmannschaften, as well as to how much young people will care about their background, thus mentally condemning the Transylvanian-Saxon culture to museum exhibition level; something that should already be referred to in the past tense. However, these kinds of views are more often expressed by people who see their own children and grandchildren occasionally rather than on a regular basis. The interaction between the generations has a more positive impact on the identity of the younger generations, while memoirs that the interviewees have prepared for their children or grandchildren are not always as effective, although they might further general interest. Overall, none of the interviewees, regardless of their age at settling in Austria (some of them were only teenagers), told me that they thought it pointless or unimportant to pass information on to younger generations, which confirms that a fairly strong identity is still present also means that their own faith in the need for preserving Saxon history and culture has not been lost.

3.0 Conclusion

The above sections have provided me with results to assess two of my four hypotheses, the first one concerning evidence of Saxon identity and the second, the ways in which interviewees practise and preserve it. An added section below will test and draw conclusions on the fourth hypothesis outlined in chapter 3, the influence of demographic factors on immigration identity, while the third hypothesis concerning differences in the level and expression of identity between the different generations can only be properly assessed once the results for all three generations have been discussed.

As the responses from the first generation have shown, all of the interviewees still think of themselves as Transylvanian-Saxons which proves that the hypothesis is correct in assuming that there is still a strong association with Saxon culture and evidence of Saxon identity, despite the interviewees living outside of Transylvania and not necessarily in a closed community. The section above has shown that the interviewees hope or would prefer that there is a future for the Transylvanian-Saxons as a group, which means that there is a feeling of self-importance attached to their identity, a feeling that the Transylvanian-Saxons have a reason to continue to exist; although some might personally consider this to be wishful thinking, and are perhaps quietly pessimistic about the prospects of a shared identity for the group once their generation has gone. However, these negative attitudes could have originated in their own attempts of educating and interesting their children and grandchildren in Transylvania, and feeling this has not been achieved because the younger generation might not be fulfil all aspects a first generation member sees as essential to a Transylvanian-Saxon identity.

However, attitudes and interests can change quickly these days, particularly with frequently up-dated modern technology, ease and relative low cost of travel, global influences and tolerance by society towards a range of life-style choices, that ethnic or national identity needs to be hybrid and constantly adjusting itself to such changes, rather than insisting on a specific status quo to be maintained that might be too rigid or inflexible and ultimately damage a group's chances for survival.

This can be seen in the attitudes of the first generation towards one of the key aspects defined in the hypothesis for Transylvanian-Saxon identity: religion. Whereas the grandparents of the first generation interviewees in this study considered Protestantism, or religion in general, to be a major part of their life and identity, there were voices questioning not only the value of such beliefs for the individual but also with regards to Transylvanian-Saxon culture and identity. In my definition of the Transylvanian-Saxon identity, I have sought to limit myself to elements that have been part of it for the majority of its existence in some way or another, and as the section on settling in Austria, in the history chapter has shown, Protestant belief continued to be of such importance that a number of Protestant churches were built in Austria on the Saxons' initiative. None of the interviewees have converted to Catholicism since arriving in Austria, although some became closely involved with the Catholic Church, through marriage to an Austrian or employment, and only one admitted to not being religious, while another interviewee stated that she does not go to church on a regular basis. While others pointed to functions that they had held in the local Protestant Church, or the fact that this is an aspect that distinguishes the Transylvanian-Saxons from the Austrians, in general, religion does hold the same importance as it had a hundred years ago in Transylvania, or in the first years of settlement in Austria.

The motivation behind preserving German culture and more specifically, the case for identification with Germany, has also been at the centre of much debate, as has been shown in the previous chapters. What should matter in this respect, however, is the fact that the Transylvanian-Saxons spoke a German dialect for several centuries and that some of their traditions and cultural habits are comparable to those practised in Germany. The problem that arises in assessing the continuity of this for the sake of Transylvanian-Saxon identity is the fact that the interviewees live in a German-speaking country and are exposed to aspects of German culture. However, a number of interviewees seem to have made a distinction between preserving certain German cultural traits as part of a Transylvanian-Saxon identity and identifying with Germany, when they pointed out that one of their reasons for deciding to stay in Austria was, that unlike Germany, it has a long shared history with Transylvania, and made therefore, in the interviewees' opinion, a better basis for cultural understanding.

Concerning the preservation of traditions, there seems to be a mixture of every day activities, such as cooking or communicating in the dialect with friends or spouses,

although not every first generation member lives close to another dialect speaker or can speak a Saxon dialect themselves. Some have used Transylvanian-Saxon motifs or patterns for handicrafts they have done. While they appreciate special events with traditional music, dances and costumes, a number of interviewees made a point of saying that they would not want to be part of a group that meets on a regular basis, or be a member of the Landsmannschaft.

However, as can be seen when assessing the evidence of the last element that was defined, unity or sense of community, it becomes obvious that there is no lack of contact between the interviewees and other Saxons. The majority stated that they are still in regular contact with Saxons outside their own family, and quite a few still attend regular reunions with former classmates, who do not necessarily live in the area of Salzburg or even Austria. Furthermore, a couple of interviewees stressed that they still feel closer to their Saxon than Austrian friends, regardless of whether these friendships had already been formed during their youth in Transylvania or only after the war.

While this analysis has shown that the four areas examined in relation to Transylvanian-Saxon identity are not given equal importance, there was still evidence of all aspects to be found, suggesting that while there might have been some changes concerning the importance given to some aspects of culture, the overall conclusion must be that this group still shows strong elements of Transylvanian-Saxon identity, as defined in the hypothesis.

4.0 Interviewees from a City or Wealthy Background

This section will exclusively look at the experiences of the interviewees from a city or wealthy background, in order to highlight the differences in identity to that revealed in secondary studies concerning those from a farming background. Its objective is to identify the different areas where each group might have had advantages or disadvantages in coping with the loss of their home, rebuilding their life in a new environment and the impact on their identity.

4.1 Coping with material loss and the loss of home

One obvious difference between the two outlined groups is, that those from a wealthier background, were more likely to have ventured outside Transylvania, to travel to Europe in order to go on holiday (a couple of my interviewees had been to Salzburg or Austria as part of a school trip or had been visiting Europe with their parents), study in Germany or Austria (as more than a quarter of the interviewees I spoke to had done) or have relatives or friends who already lived outside Transylvania (about 80 per cent of the interviewees I spoke to). This meant that they were more likely to deal with German cultural aspects different from their own or be aware of contrasts in the German image perceived in Transylvania and the actual reality[135], although generally speaking, the majority of Transylvanian-Saxons would have been in contact with other ethnic groups through Romania's multi-ethnic population.

Another important aspect concerning differences between town and country dwellers would have been the attitude towards speaking a dialect. While it was common for those growing up in rural towns and villages to mainly converse in their dialects, most of the interviewees I talked to, who had grown up in bigger towns, had not even learnt any dialect whilst still living in Transylvania but have always spoken just High German.

While the school system was generally of high quality in Transylvania, the majority of interviewees I spoke to attended school beyond the compulsory level. In the case of the three youngest interviewees, who finished their education whilst already living in

[135] One interviewee mentioned being shocked at how different the Germans and especially the German women she encountered in Berlin were from their image that was propagandised in Transylvania; while another interviewee was motivated to leave her home after the stories of German soldiers but did not find these expectations fulfilled.

Austria, it seems to have been particular circumstances that forced either into a certain apprenticeship or meant that they were unable to take their education process to the next level.

Of those interviewees, who were already in a higher or further education process, such as university or domestic science school, only one managed to complete her education in Austria after the war, while the others were forced to change their original plans in favour of families, building homes or just simply trying to earn some money to survive. It is obvious that while all the people I talked to, were able to achieve a respectable status in terms of accommodation, employment and material wealth, those who had end their training and education abruptly, still regret it today. One interviewee, who only needed to hand in her dissertation to complete her studies in art history, believes her lack of academic title meant that she was restricted in her chances of promotions and potential increases of salary during her employment in Austria. She furthermore regrets not completing her studies for the reason that her family had a long history of university graduates and she somehow feels that she has let them down[136].

A second generation interviewee said of the way her mother had dealt with her loss of wealth, status and opportunities: "(In Transylvania) my mother was the daughter of the mayor, they had an extremely large estate that had every modern comfort at the time; I was able to see for myself when we travelled back there (in the Fifties or Sixties). Even then they had a car, she went to Berlin (for the domestic science college) and without a word of warning, she was ripped out of this (privileged life), had to live in a farmer's stable with I don't know how many people, had to go milking, had to suddenly walk everywhere, and never came anywhere near to achieving her status again. Unfortunately, I have to say, even if it sounds negative, that she is a weak character. She has been unable to say "I have survived, we have built something up again for ourselves, I have got this family unit, I can be proud of this, I have two children who are well, everyone is healthy". No, she kept crying over the loss of something that she could not regain and it was just an illusion. My father, despite being a hard worker, just did not have the opportunities to achieve more and it was just a dream that could not be fulfilled. To do this, she would have had to have lent a hand, and would have had to do something, complete her studies to train for a

[136] Interestingly, the interviewee was offered the chance to complete her studies in Salzburg through connections she had built up through her work, but decided not to go ahead with it. As reasons for this decision she gives responsibilities towards her family but also the fear of embarrassing herself in front of the university professors if she had failed any of the exams she would have had to do.

job instead of training in a bakery, which of course is not meant (to sound) derogatory, but not enough for the things she was dreaming of and she has always dwelt on those dreams".

One interviewee, who had started her degree in German and Italian at the university of Klausenburg and then completed it in Innsbruck, described how she lived in constant fear of suddenly running out of money and finding herself unable to finish: initially, she was just worried about not catching up with her studies at a new university, but found that there were many other foreigners, who also had to adjust to a new situation. At a later stage, her tutor from Klausenburg also joined the University of Innsbruck as a lecturer, but she was unable to complete her dissertation for him as she could not order the books that she would have needed. Furthermore, whilst her father had made preparations for a longer stay away from Transylvania and exchanged his money into Reichsmark as well as buying debenture bonds, his savings were lost with the currency reform introducing the Schilling. As the interviewee was a student, she was allowed to keep 150 Schillings[137] but this meant that she was limited on her spending on course materials such as books. So when her new tutor asked her to compare the works of two German authors for her dissertation, she was distraught. Only when he modified the topic to just one of the authors, she saw a chance to complete her studies. In order to raise money to cover fees and other costs, the family would go collecting blueberries and mushrooms[138].

While the new experience of lack of money and the stress of coping with academic expectations in a new environment were challenging for her, the interviewee is in no doubt that it was even harder for her parents: her father had owned a vine nursery in Transylvania but had also worked as a school director. After the family had lost all their money, the interviewee's father said: "If I was younger, I could start again". While he was unable to regain his former wealth, his knowledge and expertise was soon sought after by owners of vineyards, vine nurseries and tree nurseries in the area. Despite his age, he climbed trees, corked the wine and performed all other tasks that were required of him. When he was asked to design a garden for a hotel, he succeeded in growing peppers, despite initial doubt by locals that this would be possible. The interviewee also recalled how people would stop and admire the garden her father had created. Her mother, who had not worked in Transylvania, now

[137] Refectory costs per term for lunch and dinner were 40 Schillings per term, but as a foreigner the interviewee's tuition fees were twice the amount an Austrian student had to pay
138 On one occasion, she recalls collecting so many mushrooms in one day that a restaurant bought them for 40 Schillings, an entire term's worth of refectory.

went to help out at the local inn on a regular basis, where she not only cooked but was often asked to bake, which resulted in the inn gaining a reputation for the best sweets in the area[139]. Of course, these stories may sound overly proud but it appears, that the interviewee is most of all satisfied with the fact that, not only did her parents coped with spending a relatively late part of their life doing menial tasks compared to their former status, but that both of them seemed to enjoy it and were appreciated in their new environment, which in way, returned them to a "special status" of some kind. This notion is echoed by other interviewees, who put their elder relatives' ability to manage, above their own experiences of hardship and seem to talk about their families in extreme terms[140] while using more moderate descriptions when talking about their own experiences. One interviewee told me how much her parents, especially her mother, had suffered as a result of their displacement: with her father being too old for employment and suffering from a nervous breakdown, the interviewee's mother had to look for work in order to support the family. While, as an estate owner, her life had always been demanding, she had mainly worked in managing the estate and supervising the farmhands, but now she was offered only cleaning work or trainee roles. Eventually, she was taken on as a sales assistant in a bakery, a job she enjoyed. Nevertheless, the interviewee believes that her parents were never really able to get over their change of situation.

There is a similar tendency in the assessment by the second generation interviewees' of the first generation's adaptability: a number of them mentioned that they believed that their older relatives have not been able to overcome the loss of their wealth and status. However, while the first generation speak about their elder relatives' change of circumstances in terms of shock, horror, sympathy and admiration, the second generation are more critical. Although they acknowledge their family's loss, the hardship this meant and applaud the hard-working attitude of the first generation after the war, they cannot understand why the elder generation has not managed to overcome their grief, and still compare themselves to other Saxons in respect to their previous status in Transylvania.

Some first generation interviewees still seem to be embarrassed about the low-level jobs they initially were forced to do. One interviewee said: "Back home we **had** 'helpful souls', here we **were** the 'helpful souls'". After she had been released from

[139] As reaction to this popularity, the local rival café owner reported the interviewee's mother to the police, but no further action was taken.
[140] "Very rich", "lost everything", "took every job", "very successful", "very appreciated by new boss", etc.

Russian captivity, her first employment in Austria was as a maid for an old lady, who provided food and lodgings in exchange for her work. At that time, the interviewee was still a 'displaced person' and grateful for the chance to live in a proper house, but she had very little experience in housework and cooking, and kept checking the local papers for other opportunities. When she was offered a nanny/home teacher position to look after two little boys, she not only moved into a more comfortable lifestyle, with friendly employers but more importantly could return to her original vocation, as she had trained as a teacher in Transylvania.

Many male refugees were offered manual labour work, as unskilled road construction workers or farmhands. But the husbands of two of my interviewees – who are sisters-in-law – were able to avoid this type of work by using skills they had gained through their studies, or new skills they had taught themselves. As a qualified engineer and doctor of economic studies, one initially gave private lessons in mathematics and physics to Austrian children, and while he was not paid in cash, he received a meal from each family, meaning that his wife was then able to use his food ration card for herself. He also constructed heaters from rubbish bins: the couple removed these bins, which were made from metal, from the streets at night[141].

4.2 Personal Connections

The interviewee herself was unable to use her university education at the time, but like many other displaced persons, took on homework such as knitting mittens and sowing corsages from plastic pearls, which was a rather badly paid, difficult task. When the couple were joined by the husband's sister and his brother-in-law, they decided to start weaving fabrics. After they managed to get hold of a loom, they bought fleece wool from farmers. However, they did not want to weave the natural wool, meaning it had to be dyed first but their attempts to buy dyes in the local area proved to be too expensive. It was only through the personal connection of one of the wives that their project materialised: after writing to a friend of her father's, who was the managing director of a company in Switzerland, they were sent products to dye the wool.

[141] He then attached a spiral that he made out of wire, although his wife cannot remember which other materials and steps he used to build an electric heater. Soon, word spread among the refugee community and the demand for the self-built heaters rose steadily. While the interviewee and her husband were able to sell them for a good price, in the end they decided to stop 'production' as they were too worried about being found out: when a lot of the heaters were in use at the same in the village, it seemed to affect the local power supply, which on a number of occasions collapsed.

Judging by the experiences of the first generation interviewees, it seems that whilst money and valuables were useful for obtaining food or accommodation, it was only through the right contacts, that they could significantly improve their situation in Austria. This seems like an obvious conclusion to draw, but should not be done away with in a sentence, especially when considering the many and varied situations just the few number of interviewees I spoke to found themselves in, where they were able to turn a situation to their advantage. Of course, this should not be seen as a benefit exclusively available to wealthy people or those from a city background, but in many of the experiences described to me power, influence and money (sometimes on the side of the interviewee, sometimes on the side of the person they turned to) significantly helped. Furthermore, as the example above has shown, knowing people in countries which had not suffered from the same severe shortages, could also be of great advantage, although it could prove extremely disappointing when these contacts were unwilling or unable to provide help[142].

Some of the interviewees were urged to leave Transylvania by their contacts, like one couple I spoke to – they were able to leave South Transylvania with some German soldiers who had heard that the Russians were nearing. Another interviewee's family had good connections to a German army unit and they were advised by an officer that a train with injured soldiers would pass through the next day and that the interviewee, her brother and his wife would be able to board it and leave Transylvania.

The interviewee who managed to leave Transylvania in 1948, told me how money and contacts not only enabled her and her husband to cross the border to Austria, but also saved them from the otherwise certain prospect of becoming Russian prisoners of war[143]. This was specifically due to an influential contact in the Romanian Army, who offered the interviewee's fiancé to either stay in the army and take her with him, or to have an identification card made to allow the interviewee to marry him. Choosing the latter, he asked for the card to be issued in the interviewee's maiden name and through some extra payments by her father, they

[142] One interviewee told me that a very wealthy relative had, while being sympathetic to her situation, only offered the advice "to keep a goat if she did not have any milk for her children". At this time, the interviewee lived in a single room with her husband and her two children, both under the age of three.
[143] As the wife of a German citizen who had been missing in action since the first year of war, she was not allowed to marry her fiancé, who had joined the Romanian Army. When Romania broke its allegiance with Germany, the interviewee's name was immediately put on a 'German list', with the plan to send all those on it to Russia.

were able to wed almost immediately. However, with their story well-known around Hermannstadt, they decided to leave for Bucharest, where her husband would find work as an architect for a Romanian construction company. There, the raids and deportations were conducted differently to the ones in Transylvania, where towns and villages were encircled and systematically 'cleared' of Germans. In Bucharest, on the other hand, a visit would be made to a certain address to find out whether Germans were staying there one day prior to an arrest. As the interviewee's new husband still had strong connections to Romanian Army superiors, they initially stayed at the flat of one of his friends from the military. When the raids continued, the couple bought fake passports from a forger that showed them to have a Romanian surname. However, the constant fear of being found out encouraged them to leave Romania, and be reunited with the interviewee's brother in Austria.

Again, it was mainly thanks to their connections and money that they were able to travel to Salzburg in stages, staying with relatives in Budapest and Vienna during their journey. After arriving in Zell-am-See, their sister-in-law introduced them to a friend she knew from her university time in Vienna. This friend had married a local architect, whose experience and professional competence were limited due to his 'war degree', while the interviewee's husband had not only studied in Germany and Austria but already had extensive working experience. Following the introduction, the two men eventually opened an architect's office together, with the Austrian able to attract business through his local knowledge and the interviewee's husband contributing with his professional experience.

There are several other examples in the stories of my interviewees, that show what could be arranged through knowing the right people: one interviewee's fiancé had been selected for the Leibstandarte[144], and while he was able to avoid joining initially due to his university studies, he was called up once again in Vienna and given some forms to complete and return the next day. Instead of following these instructions, he tore up the forms and threw the shreds into a ditch. Through a friend, he was put into contact with a general at a Viennese barracks, whom he told about his unwillingness to join the SS. Impressed by his technical knowledge, the general arranged for the interviewee's fiancé to go to France in order to help design the V2 launch pad. Before he was moved there, however, he was stationed in Prague for a few months. Given its proximity to Vienna, the interviewee hoped that he would return to spend

[144] Adolf Hitler's Bodyguard Division

Christmas 1944 with her, but when he was not given leave, she decided to try and travel to Prague herself. The city was a protectorate at the time and not generally open to entry, and particularly a Romanian national like her. Not willing to accept this, and reasoning "we are risking our lives for Hitler, so why should I not be able to visit my fiancé? I must do something to get there", she decided to go to the commander's office in order to find out whether there was any possibility of her entering Prague. To her surprise, she met a Transylvanian-Saxon from her hometown there, whose family had been helped by the interviewee's mother on several occasions, including letting them to stay in one of her properties for free. While he was initially adamant that she would not be able to enter the city, he was also eager to help her, and eventually managed to board her onto a military full of soldiers and officers (she was the only woman on this train) to enter Prague. While these examples might not only serve as an argument for the importance of good connections and also, luck, there is one more observation to be made in regard to those interviewees from a wealthy or privileged upbringing: they possessed a certain degree of self-importance and confidence of getting what they wanted, and this, mixed with their youth and naivety in some situations, might have made them daring or insistent at times, whereas somebody less used to giving orders or lacking self-assurance, would have perhaps not seen or taken the same chances.

4.3 Advantages and Disadvantages of City-Dwellers

While above I have looked at the effects of loss of wealth and status on the interviewees, in this section I will now address the implications of a change of situation for those from city backgrounds being relocated into rural surroundings. Furthermore, it will also look at any advantages that city dwellers might have had compared to those from a rural background.

One interviewee, whose family of five people were placed with farmers, said: "I have to honestly say that we were complete city-slickers. Klausenburg was a city, as big as Salzburg is today, it even had a University, and none of us had any idea of what life on a farm would be like...we really were not able to help in any way. I mean, should I tend cattle, or what? We were only just able to keep our heads above water with homework, such as knitting, crocheting, weaving....".

Furthermore, they had no clothes whatsoever that were suitable for a winter outside the city, particularly shoes, and it was only when the interviewee was given some boots by a charity that she was able to negotiate her way to school. However, city clothes proved an advantage for others, particularly the female interviewees, who explained to me that they managed not to 'stick out' as a refugee, and as a consequence felt at times that they were more readily accepted or treated better by the local population[145].

One interviewee told me that while she was used to living in the countryside in Transylvania, she was shocked at the untidiness and filthy conditions she was confronted with in Austria. In retrospect, she says: "It was hard. We cried many tears over what they expected us to do, but it did not harm us. Today, we believe it did not harm us; we were able to see the other side, and that could not have been bad...".

Another interviewee, who had grown up and worked in Kronstadt, found he actually enjoyed the fieldwork he did for a farmer in Salzburg, as it reminded him of his grandmother's mill outside his hometown, but also because the farmer treated him more as a friend than a worker.

However, one interviewee said that she thought that even if you were in some way acquainted with country life in Transylvania, there were still some distinct differences in Austria: "The relationship with the farming locals might have tense in the beginning, as nobody likes being forced to put somebody up in their home. Most of all though, they have a completely different way of life - those people all live by themselves, in a small village, with maybe four or five big farmsteads, and seven or eight so-called houses. And each farmer family lived by themselves. At the most, they would have sat together in the evening or on a national holiday, to talk with each other, while it was completely different back home".

Another interviewee said that in Zell am See the population increased from 5,000 to 10,000 in the space of just a few weeks. The newcomers were mainly Viennese rather than ethnic Germans, but the local population seemed to dislike their 'fellow countrymen' just as much, if not more than the foreigners. A further cause for friction between the population of Zell am See and the 'strangers' taking over their town could have been the fact that many of the refugees belonged to the upper classes,

[145] Not only this, but these clothes were also useful in later years, for example to wear to a job interview.

including Hungarian aristocrats and officers who had fled from the Russians and had brought a lot of their silver and jewellery with them. Some were obviously unable to come to terms with the fact that they had just lost most of their wealth, and spent entire days sitting in cafés, wanting to be served as they were accustomed to, but with the drastic rise of population in the village and the general lack of food at the end of the war, there was hardly enough available for the local population, let alone for luxuries[146].

One advantage for the interviewee in this situation was that she was still able to stay in contact with the 'same kind of people' that she was used to, meet friends and acquaintances from Vienna or Transylvania, or make new contacts. Another interviewee told me that soon after arriving in Tyrol, her family and other refugees formed a literary circle where they would read and discuss the works of Goethe and other authors.

However, as time went by, those old and new friends started to leave Zell am See to move to Salzburg, Germany or go back to Vienna. As there were no real prospects for them, one interviewee and her husband also looked into the possibility of buying a plot in Salzburg. When they heard about the proposed Gneis settlement, they decided to apply but would only go ahead with this, if they were allocated a plot on which to build a detached house[147]. While the interviewee remained in Zell am See with their two children, her husband used the last of their savings to start the building work, doing as much as possible himself. Lack of money was also the reason why the interviewee was unable to see the plot before and during the construction phase. So, she was horrified to discover that her new home would be in the vicinity of Salzburg's largest cemetery, as this, in her upbringing and understanding, was an indicator of the lowest of social standings, and even though the cemetery was located over a mile away from her property, she initially took it as a further symbol and reminder of how far she had fallen.

A number of interviewees commented on the fact that they had made a conscious decision to stay in Austria rather than Germany for cultural reasons: one of them quoted her sister's father-in-law, who had said: "Let's stay in Austria, as it is closest

[146] It seems hardly surprising then, that those still insisting on frequenting the cafés every day would find the price for coffee and other drinks rose steadily and often.
[147] In the end, the decision was made by drawing matchsticks, with the interviewee's husband winning the rights to build a detached property on a plot.

to our own nature. We come from the Austrian-Hungarian empire and we will find it easier to integrate here than anywhere in Germany".

The trans-migrant said that her family's thoughts on staying in Austria had been similar, believing that they would find it easier to adapt to life in Austria due to the shared imperial and royal history and that the German culture would be far too rigid or strict. After they had to leave Austria for employment reasons, the interviewee said that she missed it for a long time, despite having been a stranger there.

4.4 Interviewees' thoughts on possible differences concerning integration

While the interviewees were all happy to acknowledge the advantages and disadvantages they had experienced themselves in terms of integration, they tended to be more reluctant when I spoke to them about their views on whether they felt that status or origin might have influenced the integration process. One interviewee said that Transylvanian-Saxon society was split into two completely different groups of city and country population, and thus dissimilar cultural identity traits. However, the interviewee was unwilling to point out any differences between the two groups in terms of dealing with the loss of their home or starting from new: "I think that we all had it hard, one way or another". Another interviewee said that it was more to do with the way that a person had to leave Transylvania that made the bigger impact, arguing that while it was difficult for those who had left Transylvania for personal reasons before the war and suddenly found themselves cut off, it was harder still for those who had to leave their homes overnight. In terms of the integration process in the years after the war, one interviewee pointed out that while "the Transylvanian-Saxon farmers' deep connection with their 'clod'" meant unimaginable pain and sacrifice in terms of completely changing their life, she also noticed some, who in later years seemed to make conscious efforts of trying to disguise their origins by attempting to speak in the local Austrian dialect and sometimes even refusing to talk in Transylvanian-Saxon dialect with other settlers.

It is difficult to try and draw conclusions from such individual statements and what could perhaps too easily be considered as an attempt to generalise on something that could never be collectively measured and interpreted. However, there are certain areas which show some differences in the situation of the two different groups after the war: a lot of the interviewees I spoke to had relatives who lived in Austria or

Germany prior to the war, and visited them either during their flight, or contacted them for help at a later stage. Others had friends and family in other European countries or the USA and were provided with vital food or clothes at a time when these supplies were still extremely limited in Austria. Some of the wealthier refugees had taken large sums of cash or valuables with them, meaning in some cases, a faster route to start building their own property. Acceptance by the local population was partially aided by 'neutral' city outfits that did not make them 'stand out' too much.

Only one of the interviewees speaking High German reported problems in being understood by the local Austrian population, although all had problems with understanding the regional Austrian dialects.

Only few members of either group (city and countryside) were able to find employment in exactly the same positions they had held in Transylvania. Interviewees having to change their career path or having to abandon their studies still seemed to regret this heavily today, perhaps because they believe that, while they had no control over the loss of their home and material goods, having to change their career plans was maybe more preventable.

While those from North Transylvania were more likely to have fled as an entire village or community, the South Transylvanians in Salzburg might have only known a few individuals, with many relatives and friends still back home. This means they had more reason to travel back to Transylvania as soon as was possible and tended to return on more occasions than the North Transylvanians I talked to. The South Transylvanians I interviewed, who were all of city backgrounds, were generally able to bring back more of their original belongings as their relatives would have been able to keep certain items safe. This also means that while they have old and original items in their homes, they tended to have less 'typical' or 'traditional' Transylvanian-Saxon items, compared to those interviewees, who had been unable to keep any 'old' belongings.

More than half of the city interviewees have written down their life stories for their grandchildren, with most saying that they had at least spoken to the younger generations about Transylvania but the focus was placed on history and family history more than on Transylvanian-Saxon traditions, or cooking. Nearly half of the female interviewees I spoke to said that they were unable to cook at the time they

came to Austria, and although they eventually learned how to, they did not have the family recipes to pass on that other women of their generation might have been able to.

Overall, it is safe to say that those who managed to; find a balance between having a positive outlook, willingness to compromise and learning new skills, were able to build a materially successful life and can proudly look back to a time when it seemed that their options were severely limited. While interviewees highlighted the good community sense and help among neighbours, there is also evidence of regular contact or strong friendships with other Transylvanian-Saxons being strongly influenced by former status: interviewees mentioned school friends or friends from university as their most important contacts apart from family.

4.5 Conclusion

There is no question as to whether the interviewees I spoke to were able to adapt or not. The transformation of their lives that they experienced between 1945 and 1955 (when most had built and moved into a house again) meant they just had to. However, it was from this time onward, with a certain level of 'normality' returned, with homes, jobs and children to attend to, that the realisation of what had been lost 'forever' from their old lives started to sink in. There is no doubt that this feeling would not have been any different for those of a rural background, and adapting to their new situation would have been awkward for many years. The experiences of the humiliation of having to do jobs and tasks 'below their status' in those first few years and how the interviewees learnt to cope with them, have been shown in the sections above. It was in their own children, however that the first generation's attitudes differ: for those from a wealthier and more academic background, seeing their children excel at school and gaining a university degree was in a way the main family tradition that they could pass on. It was clear that the material wealth lost could never be regained to the same extent, but ensuring that their children would be moving a step closer to a higher position in society again, might have redeemed their sense of loss. This is not to say that those of a non-academic or farming background did not want to give their children the best educational opportunities, but that their dilemma was different: their families might have been farmers for several generations, and it soon became clear that only a handful would own a farm again[148].

I have made it clear previously that I do not wish to insinuate that Transylvanian-Saxon farmers were poor or did not receive thorough schooling, but compared to the wealthy interviewees, a large percentage of former villagers would have been able to match or exceed their former material wealth and see their children succeed in areas that they would not have considered, had they stayed in Transylvania. Therefore, it can be seen that while for the farming community's second generation their education and career choices might not have been linked to their parents' background, those from a wealthy or academic background however might have felt the weight of having to succeed academically and job-wise as a matter of family expectation and reputation.

[148] They therefore would not have even expected to see their children follow in their ancestors' footsteps, meaning some of them would have been the first in the history of the family to go to university.

Having achieved this with the second generation, this same pressure of expectation can continue with the third generation, depending on the influence of a first generation relative and the extent to which their children have been affected by this focus on education and its benefits.

The stories of wealth and loss can therefore send out a message to the next generation that they are not only part of a special ethnic group, but also a special family, and have to behave accordingly. The experience of the first generation has shown that survival without material goods, the ability to adapt and to save in desperate times is possible and even a noble feat, but also a low point that should not be reached again. While those from a farming background can pass on centuries-old traditions and recipes, instructions on farming and traditional costumes, as well as family stories, those from the cities or wealthy families might have only become aware of some of those traditions through their immigrant life in Austria. This increases the need for placing a greater importance on the family history and everything connected to it, such as personal items or the achievements of ancestors. While there is no doubt that the aim of the first generation is to create pride within the younger generations, it is also understandable why their children and grandchildren might be critical of the values that they feel are forced upon them, sometimes leading to doubt as to whether what they hear might not be exaggerated. They feel uncomfortable about being 'pushed' into the duties and expectations they see as being connected to part of such a 'high status' and finally might feel resentful or powerless to comply.

On the other hand, the knowledge that items being passed on through the generations are valuable antiques as well testaments to the family history, might ensure that their significance and history (whom they belonged to, how they ended up in Austria) will not be forgotten as easily as a Transylvanian-Saxon item that was bought after the war, and does not represent any material value or any direct family connection other than that it was bought by a first generation relative.

Regardless of geographical or social background, there seem to emerge three factors that contribute to a sense of identity being passed on to the next generation: close and regular interaction between family members of all ages, the older relatives being traditionalists in regard to family or culture, and most importantly finding a way that will appeal to and interest younger generations enough, to care about their

background or create a basis of knowledge that they can build upon themselves at a later stage.

Second Generation Identity

Overview

This chapter looks at the Transylvanian-Saxon identity and the issues connected with it for the second generation interviewees. What is particularly interesting about this group are the many dual influences; they all grew up in Austria (only three were born in Transylvania but have lived in Austria since the ages of four to eight) but none of them have a parent of Austrian, or Non-Transylvanian origin[149]. Many grew up learning a Saxon dialect from their parents but stopped using it exclusively upon starting school or becoming friends with local Austrian children. They were instilled with a sense of belonging, with their parents building houses or buying properties in Austria, yet were also encouraged to talk or think of Transylvania as home. While they were thus the first in their family to pre-dominantly regard Austria as their home, this was offset by their parents displacement, loss of status and material goods, and worries about any relatives who were still in Transylvania unable to leave. With so many different cultural components and influences to a second generation person's identity, it is difficult to predict what the individual feels, reflects him or her best, (Austrian, Transylvanian-Saxon, or a combination). Whereas the third generation interviewees, as will be discussed in a later section, have a choice in how to approach their Transylvanian-Saxon background (and are able to concentrate on the positives in order to complement the pre-dominantly Austrian influences on their identity), the same cannot be said for the second generation[150]. During the years just after the war any sense of identity would have been dependent on the individual's conformist or rebellious attitudes towards their family as a whole, thus the Transylvanian-Saxon component might have been viewed as something positive, interesting and comforting or something negative, forced and restricting.
Any research undertaken to reflect feelings of identity, however, is also strongly dependent on the timing of the study. All of the second generation interviewees have children or third generation relatives, and most of them have lost at least one close

[149] Sutter (1972) writes that there were 475 married couples in Salzburg in 1970, where at least one partner was Transylvanian-Saxon. Only 45 per cent of those marriages consisted of both partners being Transylvanian-Saxon. However, there is no indication whether this number reflects only the first generation. Most of the second generation were born in the late 1940s and therefore could have been included in the statistics.

[150] Unless a person's family chose not talk about their Transylvanian-Saxon background or distance themselves completely from the Transylvanian-Saxon community, or in special circumstances, where children might have been apart from their family significantly more than common, e.g. through attending a boarding school (such a case will be looked at), they would not have had any choice as to whether they wanted to get involved with their family's background or not.

first generation relative. Has this changed their views about their own identity at all and do the now rapidly declining numbers within the first generation group, give a feeling of responsibility towards keeping the Transylvanian-Saxon group alive and thus encourage the second generation to pass on knowledge and traditions to the next one?

2.0 Previous Studies

Petri (2001) writes about the young people (though obviously not exclusively second generation) immediately after the end of the war, when many of the refugees had found themselves in camps. He argues that the young people were less troubled by the situation of homelessness and uncertainty of returning to Transylvania, and played a vital role in raising the spirits of the group as whole through organising the first few folk and traditional dance events. He mentions that a lot of those who were children and teenagers growing up in the barracks have happy and pleasant memories of the time. However, he also writes that the children and young were also those, who had suffered most during the years after the war through poverty, especially due to the lack of food and medical provisions. In a memorandum sent to several Austrian authorities by the EKÖ (Evangelische Kirche Österreichs, Austrian Protestant Church), one of the points detailing the hardship of the refugees states: "Among the homeless are approximately 20,000 children, who due to the shortages to date are largely underweight and prone to illness. They have a lack of warm clothes and shoes and furthermore, have no share in any additional feeding and other support programmes that are available to Austrian children" (Petri, 2001, p. 220)[151].

Petri (2001) writes about the second generation: "It was the children being born here, that obviously made the most important contributions towards integration and making a new home. They, who are the messengers of the future, rooted here, being at home in Austria, projected a new view. Through their parents the Transylvanian-Saxon '*rootedness*' was passed on. Their grandparents, who had more time for them, imparted identity mainly through the dialect, their stories and "just being the way that they were". Friendships with Austrian classmates, the daily encounter with the Austrian way of life, meant they soon learnt to speak the Austrian dialect without any accent. It was they then, that they became the first Austrian Transylvanians, and no longer were Transylvanian-Saxons in Austria" (p.206). However, Petri (2001) also adds that it was the second generation that suffered particularly from any racist

[151] In order to lessen their plight so called "Kinderverschickung" (children-sending-away) campaigns took place, where children were taken to beautiful places within Austria, near lakes, mountains and forests, in order to enjoy themselves and also to receive plenty of substantial meals. Holidays similar to these were also offered by Danish protestant families, who invited refugee children to stay with them during the summer months.

comments made about the Saxons; even more so than their parents, who did not expect or wish to be seen as Austrians.

Considering different settlements all over Austria, Petri (2001) mentions that in the case of Styria, refugees who worked in agriculture found a new home in four different communities. He notes that while due to dispersion and inter-marriage, much of their identity has been lost, it is also interesting to note that the second generation display a high level of interest in Transylvanian-Saxon history and have a strong feeling of connection with Transylvania when visiting the homes of their relatives. However, Petri (2001) also points out that while the first generation can go "home" to Transylvania, and from there back "home" to Austria, this feeling cannot be shared by the second generation, who "lack the personal self-experience of the neighbourly-Transylvanian order, and thus the image of Transylvania, as 'home'" (p. 303)[152].

Petri (2001) writes, that many second generation members, who had grown up in the shadow of a Transylvanian-Saxon patriarch home, later opted "for the uncomplicated civilisation and through this, Austria" (p. 307). However, while this means that the most obvious outward sign of identity, the dialect, has been lost, one should not think that this goes for other traditions as well: he explains that Austrians with a Transylvanian-Saxon background feel close to the Protestant Church here, and know of other traditions through stories or visiting the country themselves.

2.1 Sutter's research on the second generation

Sutter undertook her research in the early 1970s, when the second generation interviewees of this study would have been teenagers or in their twenties. Therefore, all of Sutter's findings, concerned with the second generation, are youth-related. She notes that while the first generation settlers, in this case in Bürmoos, display a strong sense of community, this is not the case with the younger generation, who do not share this feeling of togetherness and are looking for friends beyond the settlement.

[152] Furthermore, he points out that 'home Austria" means something different to the second generation, than the first: as they were born there, their nationality comes more natural to them, and they are Austrians more subconsciously. This also means that they can view Austria in general as well as politics here more critically than their parents.

Sutter (1972) remarks that the refugees achieved a more positive contact with the Austrian population through their children and young people, and their unbiased nature[153].

Sutter (1972) also notes that the wish of staying together as a group within the first generation is so strong that the majority are hoping for their children to marry a second generation Transylvanian-Saxon, or at least an ethnic German, and overall are against a partnership or marriage of their children with an Austrian[154].

Even over 30 years ago, with many of the first generation still alive, Sutter noted that it was difficult to find members for the youth groups, an indication that young people do not feel attracted to following traditions and that the interest in their origin and maintaining traditions grows with age.

Sutter (1972) writes that in 1970, there were eight youth groups in Austria: Vienna, Salzburg, Traun, Vöcklabruck, Gmunden, Vorchdorf, Mattighofen-Munderfing and Bad Hall. Whereas the smallest group (Vorchdorf) only had 16 members, the largest one (Vöcklabruck) consisted of 62 young people. The other groups had an average of 22 members. While all these groups belonged to the different regional Landsmannschaften and were dedicated to maintaining traditions and representing Transylvania through the wearing of traditional outfits at functions, they also had contact with Transylvanian-Saxon youth groups outside of Austria. Sutter (1972) writes that, interestingly, the German support committee of Transylvanian-Saxons is organising annual family holidays and youth camps in Mühlbach, which is part of Salzburg County. While most of the participants at these events are German, there are also Austrians who regularly attend[155].

[153] However, this does not mean that they were readily integrated or allowed to take part in traditional events, such as erecting the maypole in Anthering, where they were only spectators as Sutter (1972) mentions.
[154] Sutter believes one of the reasons for this aversion might be the Transylvanian-Saxons' assumption that the Austrians are generally more concerned with fun and leisure pursuits, rather than working hard. On the other hand, Sutter writes that Austrian parents are very happy if their child marries a Transylvanian-Saxon, as they are impressed by the hard-working attitude and diligence of the group.
[155] Sutter (1972) points out that all of the events are in the spirit of unity of all Transylvanian-Saxons, regardless of where they might live now, especially at the youth camps with the aid of singing Transylvanian-Saxon songs together, as well as talks on Transylvanian history and culture.

3.0 Findings of Primary Research

This section focuses on the positive and negative experiences the interviewees might have had when growing up in Austria, contact with Austrians, their parents' situation, whether the family continued to follow any of the traditions, culinary or otherwise upon settling in their new surroundings, and whether their parents had tried to pass on their native dialect to their children. As will be seen, the experiences of the different groups in which I have categorised the interviewees, have in some respects been distinctive, especially concerning memories from school.

3.1 Growing up and contact with other members of Transylvanian-Saxon second generation

The question regarding childhood was the first one I asked each interviewee in order to give them a chance to talk about their family background and the circumstances under which they came to Austria. I also thought that there would be a good chance of making an accurate 'guess' from their different accounts as to how the interviewees feel in respect to their identity today. However, as I will discuss later, in quite a few cases those "assumed conclusions" did not match the individual's statement at all. This is evidence that factors such as, motivation from their parents or even speaking a different dialect as a child, are not major elements as to what influences the formation of a person's later sense of identity[156].
As the number of Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg was never substantial and the first generation were likely to feel threatened about losing their identity and existence as a group, I wondered whether they had tried to encourage their children to also stick together to such a point as to, perhaps, wanting the children of settlers to marry each other, as Sutter (1972) also indicated. I was surprised by the overwhelming trend that emerged from the interviewees' answers, even though the question (do you think your parents encouraged you to play/have contact with other Transylvanian-Saxon children?) depends on the definition of 'encouragement'; meaning that while one person would have felt that it was their own choice to be in

[156] Of course, during the first part of their lives, the interviewees' parents and relatives played an important part in raising their children's interest in their former home country and only very few of the new settlers would have made the choice to have no contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons at all and try to forget where they came from. Even in Transylvania, villages notoriously held together and it was rare for two people from two different villages or towns, let alone parts of Transylvania to marry.

contact with another child despite their parents knowing each other and introducing them to each other, somebody else might interpret the same situation as their parents trying to manipulate who they should choose as their friends[157].

Born in Transylvania

Only three of the second generation interviewees were born in Transylvania; two of them left Transylvania with their parents but interviewee Mr a stayed with his grandparents after his mother had fled to Austria and it was not until he was nearly eight years old when he was able to join the rest of his family in Zell am See. As he had attended school in Transylvania, his experiences of settling in a completely new surrounding and encounters with locals are maybe the most extreme out of all the interviewees for this research, particularly as there were not that many refugees left in Zell am See[158]. Upon his arrival in Austria, he was the only Protestant student in his class, and was just seen as a "zug'roaster" (stranger, newcomer in Austrian dialect) with little or no effort being made to integrate him. He refused to join in the Catholic prayers at the beginning of class each morning, which only caused further alienation, in addition to not being able to ski and having difficulties in understanding the local dialect. Mr a does not remember his parents encouraging him to play with other Transylvanian-Saxon children but believes generally that "my parents had enough worries, in establishing themselves financially again in the post-war years; they did not have the time to deal with the problems of a child". He does not remember any other Transylvanian-Saxon families in Zell am See and his only contact with other children from the group remained his relatives, who lived in Salzburg, where he frequently went to visit his cousins.

Of the two interviewees who had come to Austria with their parents during the war, Mrs b describes the years her family spent in the ghetto, as 'wonderful', as there were many other children there that she could play with and all the refugees were from just two or three Transylvanian-Saxon villages[159]. Like Mr a she did not attend school in the city of Salzburg but lived in Faistenau, a rural area. While there were

[157] Another reason for asking this question was to give an indication if the interviewees were in regular contact with other Transylvanian-Saxon children, in order to later compare it with their contacts from the group today.

[158] However, it was an experience that could maybe be described as a "jump from the frying pan into the fire", as his memories of growing up in Transylvania are not exclusively happy ones: as the child of a German father and Transylvanian-Saxon mother, he was seen as the son of a war criminal, was not allowed to join groups such as the young pioneers at school which was by then run by the Communist regime, and felt an outcast even among the Transylvanian-Saxons who had remained there.

[159] The first sign of this community breaking up was when the majority of them decided to move to Germany, to work in the coalmines, or even went to the USA.

also some initial problems with the locals, she has generally got very happy memories of her childhood there, and was almost sad when her parents decided to build a house in the Eichethof settlement close to the city, as she did not know any of the Transylvanian-Saxons there except for her relatives[160]. Even though she remembers mass as well as religious education classes only being held in the local inn, the large Protestant community in the ghetto created a sense of unity. She said that due to geographical convenience, she mainly played with other young Transylvanian-Saxons. However, she also formed strong friendships with local children, which continued long after the family moved out of the area. Overall, there were no indications that her parents influenced her in any way with regards to her making friends.

Mr c who fled from Transylvania with his mother in 1944, has similar positive memories of the time he spent in the camp, as there were many other children of his age group, mainly from Draas and Katzendorf, where he is from[161]. Of course, as the local community was exclusively Catholic, memories of talk about the "heathen refugees", who were always dressed in dark clothes, so different from the traditional outfits of the locals, are still vivid in the mind of the interviewee, although he made a point of saying that the negative comments were made by adults only and not by any of the Austrian children. Furthermore, even though he had been brought up speaking the Transylvanian-Saxon dialect, it was no problem for him to learn and talk in the local Austrian dialect, especially once he had started school. The interviewee did not make any mention of having close contacts with Austrian children, and while he did not say that this was directly influenced by his mother, their situation was obviously one of the main reasons and as they had to be prudent with their finances, there was little time and money to amuse or entertain the children outside of the camp[162].

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Even today, the first generation emphasize the strong sense of community that formed almost immediately between the different refugees, and their willingness to

[160] A further advantage for her, whilst living in Faistenau was the fact that she received religious education from Richard Engler, who had led the trek of the Botschers, who by then had settled in Elixhausen. This meant that she did not feel the experiences that other Protestant children of refugees had, who sometimes felt excluded or even humiliated in schools were they were a small minority.
[161] As the barracks were close to several large farm houses, leas, woods and mountains, the children's life was not restricted to spending all their time in the barracks, and there was plenty of opportunity to explore the new surroundings in groups of girls and boys.
[162] With the formation of a Transylvanian-Saxon traditional dancing group, young people such as the interviewee had the opportunity not only to join a club and make new friends with other Transylvanian-Saxons outside their immediate neighbourhood but also be able to go on tours with the group performing abroad every year, at a time when foreign holidays where not widely heard of.

help each other with the building work to their houses. Unlike in the case of the two interviewees mentioned above, these new communities were not made up of settlers from the same three or so individual villages, but of people from all over Transylvania. Furthermore, it is remarkable that two thirds of the settlers in Gneis and Eichethof were from Southern parts of Transylvania, which had not been evacuated like the North[163]. Despite so many people of differing origins, confessions, education and professions living in such close surroundings, the atmosphere soon became village-like, with a strong sense of community between Catholic and Protestant neighbours, with residents all offering congratulations at the event of a wedding or support in the case of a death (Sutter, 1972).

Figure 14 Children of Transylvanian-Saxons settlers taking part in an early Christmas celebration of the Siebenbürger Verein in Salzburg

Only two of the interviewees growing up in Gneis and Eichethof were born there, while the others had moved into the newly-built houses with their parents from the barracks or rented accommodation. While all of them agree that life within the settlements was peaceful and conflict-free regardless of religious confession, some had negative experiences due to them being Protestant.

Mrs d described how she and the only other Transylvanian-Saxon girl in her class were not allowed to take part in the Catholic Religious Education lessons and as a

[163] Sutter (1972) writes that many of the South Transylvanian first generation settlers were academics, intellectuals and sales people, who were attracted not only by Salzburg's economic opportunities but also its cultural reputation. Others found it convenient to live in the small city of Salzburg and commute to Munich to work.

consequence were teased by their fellow pupils, who ridiculed their creed and told them that they would not go to heaven[164]. During those classes the girls had to wait outside the classroom. Furthermore, as there was only one Protestant Religious education class for the entire school, the weekly lesson was held after all other lessons had finished, which only added to the feeling of exclusion. It was only when a new Catholic Religious Education teacher, himself an ethnic German refugee, joined the school and allowed the girls to take part in his lessons that they felt accepted. The interviewee says about that time: "For the first time I had the feeling that I had made it, as until then, being a refugee's child really felt like a flaw to me. Now I was a part (of the class) and it was mainly a positive experience." Mrs d did not express the view that her family (she lived with both her parents and grandparents) tried to encourage her to play just with other refugee children but she did not mention any strong friendships with Austrian youngsters before her teens either. She also joined the youth dancing group as well as a choir and was therefore more involved in events organised by Transylvanian-Saxon groups than Austrian ones.

Her sister, Mrs e did not have the same experiences at school, as she did not get teased about not being a Catholic and got on well with all the other children. However, it was more difficult for her to adapt to the Austrian local dialect and even though there were advantages of speaking Transylvanian-Saxon with other children (to avoid Austrians understanding what was being said), she was not able to speak both dialects perfectly, a fact that was picked up by the Austrian children. As there were so many other Transylvanian-Saxon children in Gneis/Eichethof, she was not aware of any "special status" before starting school. Concerning the question of exclusive contact with Transylvanian-Saxons she said: "We played with Austrian children just the same, it was completely unimportant, we had Austrian friends who lived in the Eichethof settlement as well, not just Transylvanian-Saxons."

Mrs f who grew up opposite the two sisters also mentioned the Austrian dialect and Catholic belief as the main differences between her and the Austrian children she attended school with. However, she did not experience any hostility, only curiosity as to why she did not speak like her Austrian classmates. She agrees with Mrs e that

[164] Banning Protestant children from the lesson was not necessarily a standard and as the interviewee and her friend were aware of the fact that other Transylvanian-Saxon children from the settlement were allowed to take part in Catholic lessons at their schools, the ban was even more painful.

none of their parents had to encourage them to play with either refugee or local children[165].

In contrast to this, her elder sister, Mrs g started kindergarten while the family were still in Zell am See, where she found it hard, initially, to make friends because she was only able to speak a Transylvanian-Saxon dialect. However, while she was able to learn High German easily, she says that the feeling of being a foreigner or stranger did not leave her for a long time, particularly as her parents' friends included only Transylvanian-Saxons and not the parents of her Austrian classmates. Her experiences concerning playing and growing up in the big "gang" her sister described are widely different, perhaps, as she pointed out because she was a few years older than the others[166].

Two other interviewees only mentioned the dialect as a form of difference between them and Austrian children, but one of them, Mrs i explained that she suffered immensely since her parents were extremely anxious for her to speak "proper High German", which her Austrian classmates took to be a sign of arrogance and she remained an outsider. On the other hand, as she was in a class with other Protestant children, she did not experience the problems other interviewees reported, concerning religious education. Despite the fact that her parents were so concerned for her to follow their guidelines in other aspects, they did not dictate any rules in regard to who she should be friends with[167].

[165] There were a large number of young families living in Gneis and Eichethof when the interviewee grew up and she says that they all played in a big group, without any care what background they had.
[166] However, due to this reason, she also found it difficult to make Transylvanian-Saxon friends, even if her parents were more inclined to keep contacts with others of their group rather than Austrians.
[167] In her case, as has also been seen with others, there was a very strong tendency to have more Transylvanian-Saxon friends when she was younger and most likely also not allowed to venture outside the area of her parents' house very much, so was obviously encouraged to play with other Transylvanian-Saxons for geographical convenience. Upon reaching an age where she went to secondary school, and her family had also moved out of the Gneis settlement (though still in close proximity to both Gneis and Eichethof), she made more friends in class and almost completely ended her previously intensive friendships with the children from the two settlements.

Figure 15 Confirmation of a second generation Transylvanian-Saxon in traditional outfit

Mrs j told me that she remembers negative comments made by Austrian children about the houses the Transylvanian-Saxons had moved into. There were allegations that the refugees had received them as gifts from the state and had not really contributed towards the cost or the work. Also, in her case, she reported to have been very sensitive and easily upset about the criticism and taunts about her religion and was the only interviewee who told me that even her son was still affected by comments at school that Protestants were not Christians, which does not appear to have been the case with any other third generation interviewees. Like most others, the interviewee did not feel that there was any parental direction or insistence involved with her choice of friends. Eichethof was, as has been mentioned, also home to many Danube Swabians and friendships were formed across all groups. Despite her very negative experiences with children at school, she got on very well with the Austrian neighbour's children and describes their relationship as close as brothers and sisters.

Sachsenheim settlement

Three of the interviewees grew up in Sachsenheim, a settlement which is separated from the most immediate village, Elixhausen, meaning there were no Austrians living directly next to the Transylvanian-Saxons. Two interviewees told me that, initially they automatically only had contact with Transylvanian-Saxons. Even though the interviewees did have more contact with Austrians when they started school, the fact that there were two large groups helped prevent a feeling of exclusion or otherness.

Mr k said: "At school, we only felt the difference between Protestant and Catholic pupils but not really between Transylvanian-Saxons and Austrians. There were so many Protestants, a whole group of young people, who grew up together"[168].

His sister, Mrs I, who is nearly 10 years younger than him and the youngest of the interviewees from the second generation, said she made a conscious decision to stop speaking the Transylvanian-Saxon dialect she had used to communicate with friends and family until then. She said about her childhood: "I knew straight from the beginning that our family was different, it was even something that was being made clear to me by my parents. We grew up with lots and lots of stories about Transylvania, I think the (first) generation needed this to digest the experience of losing their home, and their only chance of therapeutic treatment was to talk about it". While the interviewee insisted that she had never had any problems with Austrians either at school or otherwise, she appeared to have made quite a few conscious decisions to not be mistaken for somebody different, such as changing her language, and also expressed very strongly that she felt embarrassed whenever she heard her parents talk in an accented German. This feeling of shame about being from a Non-Austrian family despite the fact that this was at a time when most members of the second generation would have had children of their own, and the fact that the interviewee never had any problems in the contact with the Austrian population, leads to the question of why she was so concerned or embarrassed by her otherness, if she was not questioned or attacked in any way. An explanation lies perhaps in the closed nature of Sachsenheim, here traditions, language and customs were cultivated and so adaptation to an Austrian way of life was likely to be slower than in mixed settlements[169]. Whilst this interviewee explained to me that her parents

[168] As the Sachsenheim settlement is cut off from the rest of the village, there were few friendships formed between Austrian and Transylvanian-Saxon children while they were of primary school age.
[169] Also, if the family often talked about their experiences during and after the war, either with Austrians or settling down in Austria, the fear of experiencing something similar might have transferred onto the interviewee and triggered a more extreme feeling of confusion about identity than with a second

did not try to influence her friendships, and neither would she have let them, she told me that this was also because of the age difference between her and other members of the second generation and that she believes that such encouragements did happen[170].

Mr m moved to Elixhausen with his parents at the age of five. Before then they had lived with farmers and he had had no contact with other children at all. Upon arriving in Elixhausen, he discovered that he felt closer to the Transylvanian-Saxons than the Austrians, and while he was in contact with both, he says it was definitely the Transylvanian-Saxons he could relate to more and therefore formed stronger friendships with the children from Sachsenheim. Like the majority of interviewees he says that his parents could not or did not influence his friendships but like others he joined a Transylvanian-Saxon organisation, in his case the brass band, in order to also get a chance to travel.

Only one second generation interviewee I spoke to, Mrs n, while born in Austria, did not grow up in the area of Salzburg, but in the nearby county of Upper Austria. There she also lived in a closed Transylvanian-Saxon settlement within Vöcklabruck, and her experiences do not differ very much from those who grew up in Sachsenheim, with a lot of Transylvanian-Saxon children and limited contact with Austrian children before starting school. The interviewee said she experienced no problems as there was not only a fairly large number of Protestants at the school but also German and Swiss children, meaning a combination of people from several German-speaking backgrounds[171]. However, contact with other Transylvanian-Saxon children was obviously important to her parents, especially when the family later moved to a different part of Vöcklabruck, away from the settlement: not only did the interviewee's parents make an effort to stay in contact with settlers in Dürnau, but they also encouraged their daughter to play with the children there and later join a group for traditional Transylvanian-Saxon dancing when she was 14.

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generation member growing up in a mixed settlement, who did not share the same concerns as they had more contact with Austrian children straight from the beginning, and while some might have been negative – most of it seems to have been positive.

[170] "I certainly heard it in the settlement, even though never directly from my parents, but one has to see it that way; my brother is ten years older than me, he experienced the "cutting of the cord" differently from me. When I was born, it was ten years later, ten years of working through pain, ten years more to be integrated, ten years more...and I think that is why it was not that strong with me, or I did not really see it, perhaps it did happen and I just did not see it".

[171] Therefore, the interviewee says there was no risk of feeling disintegrated and all children from different national backgrounds got on well with each other.

Grown up outside a settlement

All of the second generation interviewees mentioned so far have lived, at least at one stage in their life, surrounded by other Transylvanian-Saxon families and were able to see aspects of community life and traditions themselves. However, two of the people I interviewed grew up outside such settlements, which was a very unusual thing for a Transylvanian-Saxon family to do, as most of those who stayed in Austria chose to live close to fellow countrymen, preferably even from the same region or village.

Mr o's parents had moved to Austria before the evacuation in order to run a business. Their children were all born in Salzburg and they rented a house in the city. He says: "We actually grew up as Austrian children, never really felt like Transylvanians, or like foreigners. Quite the opposite really, we always had problems with the Transylvanians; we were the Austrian part of the family." Even though his parents talked and still talk to their children in dialect, the interviewee also spoke the Austrian dialect used by the children in his neighbourhood, not the "High German" many other second generation members often spoke with, which, as has been seen, meant they were teased by the Austrian children they met. However, while his parents had made the conscious decision of leaving Transylvania rather than fleeing from it, they also experienced the trauma of being cut off from their homeland and were obviously affected by the uncertain news emerging about the fate of their family, friends and countrymen[172]. While his parents obviously felt at home in the company of those who had newly arrived in Salzburg, the interviewee remembers attending such events or joining Transylvanian-Saxon related events as a compulsory exercise. While they were obviously opportunities to meet children from other Transylvanian-Saxon families and make friends with them, the fact that the interviewee did not feel he had attended these events out of his own free will, and as most of the other children there already knew each other from the settlements, did not make it easy or feel natural to form friendships rather than acquaintances[173].

Mrs p felt even more disconnected from Transylvania, despite the fact that while her father's family was not originally from there, her paternal grandfather had achieved a high-profile position in Transylvania, and the interviewee's father would also later play an important role in the post-war Transylvanian-Saxon community in Salzburg

[172] Therefore, when more and more refugees came to Austria and many settled in Salzburg, the family sought contact with them and attended events organised by the newly formed Siebenbürger Verein.
[173] Plus, he could not understand why he should be more interested in making friends with them just because they were Transylvanian-Saxons, if he felt he had more in common with the Austrian children.

and Austria. When the interviewee grew up in Zell am See in the 1950s, she was the only refugee child in her class at primary school. At that age, she said, her parents' background did not particularly concern her and therefore it was not a topic she discussed with her classmates[174]. Her only opportunities to meet with other Transylvanian-Saxons was when she visited her cousins, who were also born in Austria, or her grandparents, who were living in a retirement home for Transylvanian-Saxons across the border in Germany[175]. The interviewee did not mention any impact the Protestant belief had on her whilst growing up. However, due to her family leaving Transylvania only after the war, the interviewee said that her strongest memories concerning Transylvania when growing up is hearing her parents talking about their fears of the Communists after 1945 and how difficult life for the German-speaking population was becoming in Romania[176].

[174] Furthermore, the interviewee later attended a private boarding school in Vienna, as her parents were too occupied with their businesses, and taken out of an environment to give her any opportunity to learn about Transylvanian-Saxon traditions and stories about her family's life before the war, she never really spoke to her friends at the new school about her parents' background either

[175] However, due to the distance of her boarding school, these visits were rather limited. Furthermore, when she did stay with her parents, the family did not follow any particular Transylvanian-Saxon traditions or speak the dialect (even in Transylvania, the interviewee's maternal family had spoken High German).

[176] These memories of her parents were enough to affect the interviewee that she has never travelled to Transylvania, for fear what would happen if somebody picked up on her (unusual) surname and would punish her for her parents' flight from the country.

3.2 Feeling of Identity at a younger age and today

I asked the interviewees which national identity they felt they had when they were younger and whether they thought anything had changed regarding these feelings over the years. Due to the fact that so many grew up in settlements and there were still so many first generation members alive during their youth, I expected that it would be likely that quite a few would have naturally been influenced by their surroundings especially at a very young age and most likely have felt more as Transylvanian-Saxons than Austrians. However, I also considered that others had perhaps felt a stigma attached to their family's 'otherness' and had been keen to see themselves and be viewed by others as an Austrian, particularly if they had been born here and knew Transylvania only through their parents' stories. With nostalgia and a sense of need for origin sometimes setting in later in life, I thought that some interviewees might have changed their views over the years and perhaps become more aware of Transylvanian history or culture, especially if they could do so by their own free will and without force or encouragement from an older relative. On the other hand, I reasoned, that if this sense of nostalgia had not set in, and the interviewee had never shown very much interest in Transylvania, he/she would now be inclined to describe himself themselves as "100 per cent Austrian", if only due to their lack of knowledge about Transylvania.

At a later stage of the conversation, I asked interviewees how they would describe themselves today regarding their identity, especially when meeting new people. While I believed that more than half would associate themselves with a Transylvanian-Saxon identity, I was not convinced whether they would mention this when asked about their nationality/identity as it might be more convenient to describe themselves as Austrians. On the other hand, both their parents were originally from Transylvania, and while interviewees might feel that Austria is their birthplace and home, they are still more Transylvanian-Saxon as they have no Austrian first generation relatives.

Born in Transylvania

Mr a, who had arrived in Austria from Transylvania at the age of nine, told me that it was not the question of identity that confused him but the difference in the overall picture he was confronted with: while in Transylvania, most aspects of life were

dictated by the political situation, but this was not the case in Zell am See, where these rigid rules did not exist. However, rather than enjoying and appreciating this freedom and tolerance, the interviewee felt perhaps overwhelmed by the two extremes, and eventually turned into an outsider and rebel, which he says he developed into his 'image' and sense of 'identity'. Concerning identification with the different countries he has lived in, Transylvania, Austria and Germany, there are some aspects in all of them he can identify with, but overall he feels his identity is defined by political affiliation rather than a sense of connection to a specific country. If asked today, he said that if he is in Germany he usually tells people that he is Austrian, whereas in Austria he would say that he is German[177].

Mrs b told me that she has experienced different phases in respect to her feeling of identity over the years. With all her family, as far as she can look back, originating from Transylvania, she told me that a big part of her has always been Transylvanian-Saxon and she feels she is one. On the other hand, the experience of being integrated and welcomed into the Austrian community has also made her proud to be Austrian. Furthermore, she said that it also depended on the people she was with whether she would call herself as Austrian or Transylvanian-Saxon, and said that she has no problems with describing herself belonging to either identity. Overall, however, due to living in Austria since the age of five and having been married to an Austrian for many years, she believes it is more apt to call herself an Austrian these days[178].

Mr c said that he has felt like an Austrian since he was young, as he grew up in the country but stressed that at the same time he is keen not to deny his origin[179]. His reaction as to whether he would mention his Transylvanian-Saxon identity today was "Yes, well, why not. It is not like you have to be embarrassed by your origin or your religious belief and you should stick by it, it's one's duty as a Christian. One cannot change it and it isn't one's own fault, so one should stand by it". While it might not have been the interviewee's intention, this statement sounds like he is looking at his

[177] However, he would never mention his Transylvanian-Saxon background, as he only lived there for eight to nine years and while some of the memories that he has of the time there are very positive, he feels it is not enough to justify him feeling as a Transylvanian-Saxon.
[178] She said that if she was asked abroad where she was from, she would always say that she is from Salzburg and is Austrian, and only if the other person mentioned her dialect, which is slightly different from the one commonly spoken in Salzburg, would she admit her Transylvanian-Saxon background. However, she is equally keen at the same time to stress her pride in her origin.
[179] He also said that perhaps compared to foreigners and refugees who have come to Austria in recent years, his family did not have the worry of having to learn a completely new language, only adjusting their dialect to make themselves understood, hence perhaps not concerning themselves that much with their identity.

Transylvanian-Saxon identity as a kind of duty, or something which he would feel the need to explain and defend to others, as it would not be understood in the same way as if he just said that he was Austrian.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mrs d said that she still regards herself to be a Transylvanian-Saxon, and made no comments about her sense of Austrian identity. To highlight her point about her identity, she described to me a recent reunion of Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg that was organised by the group for traditional dances. There were people attending from different parts of Austria and Germany and she says of the event: "We met people, who we had not been in contact with for years, and you sit down together and it works. And that is great because I can say that this is thanks to what happened during my youth. We did not have much but it worked because we have such a sense of community".

Her sister agrees with this sentiment and her comment on the subject is "I still feel I am a Transylvanian-Saxon now". She also said that she would say that she is a Transylvanian-Saxon when she meets new people now and likes to stand by her origin. Like her sister, she makes no comment in respect to her feelings of an Austrian identity, or whether she thinks that parts of her identity are typically Austrian, and considering that both sisters were born in Austria this is quite a contrast to the feelings expressed by those interviewees who had been born in Transylvania, and could have been expected to express a stronger sense of Transylvanian-Saxon identity.

In a way, they were still "first generation settlers", who might not have a lot of memories of Transylvania but remember leaving the country and then settling in Austria. One thing that is interesting is that two of the interviewees who had been born in Transylvania, mentioned that they had based their identity on which surrounding they are in or on the group of people they are with, especially the interviewee who said that he would describe himself as an Austrian when in Germany and a German when in Austria[180]. The second interviewee (Mrs b), unlike the first one (Mr a), has not got a distinctive High German accent, and only very few

[180] This means that no matter where he spends time, he will never be considered or wants to be thought of as local, and while he has lived in different places in both countries, none of them would be a hometown to him. Of course, one might argue that he feels close to both national identities as he has spent almost the same amount of time in Austria and Germany, but one also wonders how he would describe himself in terms of identity if he had never moved away from Austria.

details about her voice or way of speaking would indicate that she is not in fact Austrian[181]. However, while that interviewee mentioned Austrian friends of her husband's and herself, she did not tell me about any Austrian traditions that she follows and whether she and her husband are involved with any Austrian folk groups.

However, others are obviously doing just that, with one (Protestant) interviewee, Mrs h, telling me that she is in a Transylvanian-Saxon singing club as well as in the (Catholic) Church Choir. This interviewee told me that she has always felt she is Austrian but has obviously still got a significant interest in Transylvania and its culture as she has spent many years at the "Siebenbürger-Sachsen Verein" in Salzburg as its secretary.

Mrs f was equally clear about how she thinks of herself in terms of identity: "I have always felt Austrian but also knew where my parents are from. I am feeling more and more Austrian, and I think it would be odd if I felt to be Transylvanian-Saxon. I know the descent, but in regard to my approach to life, or feeling of home, it is definitely Austria. Of course, one will never be fully Austrian, like if one's great-great-grandparents had already lived in Austria, one will always be a 'Zug'roaster', my parents more, I less and my children not at all."

Her sister on the other hand, says that for a long time she felt truly torn, as she was able to relate to both identities but today she says "I feel Austrian now. There is no point in trying to cling to a beautiful past, the Transylvanian-Saxons have had their historic importance...".

As many of the interviewees' parents were originally classified as displaced persons, their children who were born in Austria did not automatically receive Austrian nationality classification. Mrs i believes that the fact that she was officially a German citizen until her twenties, despite her always living in Austria, contributed to her feeling Transylvanian-Saxon rather than Austrian in the beginning. However, she said that her sense of Austrian identity has increased greatly since she applied for citizenship here at the beginning of her career. She now says: "I accept my descent

[181] As she has lived in Austria continuously since the age of five, has an Austrian passport and is married to an Austrian, it seems to be perhaps sensible reasoning and convenience that make her describe herself as an Austrian, more than a Transylvanian-Saxon, although many of her leisure activities and interests seem to be connected to Transylvanian-Saxon groups and even her husband is involved in some of the events, which shows that they do not just have Austrian friends together, and that her Transylvanian-Saxon identity must be important or natural to her, that even her (Austrian) husband has decided to support her or inform himself about her family's cultural background.

and am aware that my parents are Transylvanian-Saxon and I am proud of it. However, I am also a completely normal Austrian".

Mrs j also admitted that she found it difficult to commit herself to just one identity, as she was so involved in Transylvanian-Saxon clubs and events when she was younger and spoke to her parents in the dialect at home. However, she pointed out that she does not know a lot of Transylvanian history and therefore believes that it would be wrong to describe herself as a complete "Transylvanian-Saxon".

Sachsenheim settlement

As Sachsenheim was built as a closed settlement, I anticipated that the interviewees, who had grown up here, would have the strongest sense of Transylvanian-Saxon identity because the whole community was originally from there and initially there was not a lot of contact between the Austrians in Elixhausen and the Transylvanian-Saxons in Sachsenheim.

Mr k said that while he thinks he did not concern himself very much with his identity when he was younger, he believes that it is more likely that he felt Austrian. These days he describes himself as "a Transylvanian-Saxon, who has grown up in Austria and still lives there".

His sister felt the sense of confusion much more strongly, and says that it was only when she became a teenager that she wanted to be an Austrian[182]. It took another ten years for her to question her identity more deeply: "Only at a later age, from maybe 25 to 30 onwards, or if somebody asks me now, I say I am Transylvanian-Saxon-Austrian, because I am not just Austrian, as I have a different history under my skin, and one situation where I felt that specifically strongly, was when I was in Transylvania the last time in 2001. I stood on this hill – my parents are from the nearby village and stood on this hill where the cemetery is- looked down and thought how strange, this is the view that my grandparents, great-grandparents, and great-great-grandparents, had thought of as home, and a part of this must be in me. I think that you pass images on to your children, not only through stories, but I believe that there must be some kind of chemical process, because, I felt this. I thought, wow,

[182] She said that at that age she was looking for a concept of home and felt that in Austria she could associate the mountains with home. She also spent more time with Austrian friends at that time, not through choice but because she did not know any Transylvanian-Saxons she could feel similarly close to.

this could also have been my view if it had not been for the Second-World War, the evacuation, or if my parents had returned, then it would have been my view as well".

Mr m is equally keen to describe his identity as a combination of where he grew up and where his family is from and also said that he called himself a "Transylvanian-Saxon-Austrian". Unlike the interviewees from the other groups, the people I talked to from Sachsenheim were of the same opinion, when asked for their identity, with all of them opting for one term – "Transylvanian-Saxon-Austrian" to describe them best.

Like Mrs i who only felt "Austrian" upon receiving her Austrian passport, Mrs n, who grew up in Upper Austria, told me that she felt torn for years, not really thinking she belonged to any country properly: "Despite the fact that I was born in Austria, I did not feel Austrian and it took many, many years, really only now that we are buying the flat we live in, am I starting to feel a home connection and know where I belong."

Grown up outside a settlement

Considering the little contact the interviewees from this group had with other Transylvanian-Saxons, and if they did, it was not necessarily through their own choice, the questions regarding identity felt almost pointless to ask as I had no expectations that either interviewee would have been interested to find out more about Transylvanian culture or associate their identity with it.

While Mr o said that he has always felt completely Austrian, it is interesting to hear that when he was in his early twenties he decided to find out more about the place his parents had come from and discovered that unlike his sister, who has no interest in this side of the family, he felt actually quite close to some of the people he met on his visits there. Through his cousin, who still lived in Transylvania, the interviewee met a local girl whom he later married. Before she was allowed to leave Transylvania he would travel there three to four times a year, more often than his parents.

Mrs p also said that she would describe herself as an Austrian, but that she was always aware of her family's roots and that their history was in Romania. However, as there are no close relatives left in Transylvania, she has not concerned herself with Transylvania further apart from reading her grandfather's diary a few years ago.

3.3 Things that interviewees connect with Transylvania and Transylvanian-Saxon culture

I asked the interviewees to tell me what they connect with Transylvania, not only to see how extensive their knowledge is with regards to Transylvanian-Saxon culture, history and the geography of Transylvania, but primarily to try to discover a potential link across the different groups as to what aspects of Transylvanian-Saxon heritage were the ones most often mentioned, strongest or fascinating for the second generation to associate their parents' former home with. I expected dishes such as Polenta or Krautwickel (a cabbage dish) to feature prominently and as quite a few of the interviewees had been part of Transylvanian-Saxon youth folk organisations, also for dances and songs to be mentioned. In line with this, I thought a majority of interviewees would mention the traditional outfits worn in the different villages. Of course, religion would also feature prominently, especially as all of the second generation interviewees are Protestants. In some cases, I anticipated interviewees to describe their families' home villages or towns to me, naming sights, mountains or rivers. Finally, I thought that the mentioning of historical aspects, such as the first settlers coming to Transylvania, or the Hungarian and Austrian reigning periods were also likely.

Born in Transylvania

Mr a did not mention any culinary or folklore aspects of Transylvanian-Saxon culture, but attempted a description of the character of the Transylvanian-Saxon mentality: "On the one hand, Transylvanian-Saxons are very conservative human beings but the amazing thing is, on the other hand, they have shown a lot of tolerance towards different ethnic groups and groups speaking different languages, and they managed something in their long history, which is rare: there was no serfdom, they did not exploit people in the way it happened in other parts of history. Overall, though, you still have this very conservative political image, which the Transylvanian-Saxon shows to the outside". The interviewee also added that he did not understand the mass emigration, which had taken place, as it meant effectively giving up the country.

Mrs b only mentioned the community sense and unity, which she believes is still evident among Transylvanian-Saxon groups today.

Mr c mentioned a variety of things that he connects with Transylvania: first of all, the beauty of the country, secondly the fact that a German community was able to survive so far away from Germany and yet still maintain contact with their native country's culture through sending students to German and Austrian universities. He also said: "Transylvania was part of Austria in 1669, a lot earlier than Salzburg, which will celebrate its 200-year anniversary of being part of Austria only in 2014, as it previously belonged to Bavaria"[183].

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mrs d also placed particularly high importance on the sense of community amongst the Transylvanian-Saxons and gave me several examples that she remembers from her childhood, not just during the time of building houses, where neighbours helped each other as well as they could, but also in the years following, when most had achieved a comfortable lifestyle, with neighbours looking after each other's children or one of the few people who had a car taking an injured child to hospital. Even today she believes this spirit is still evident[184]. With regards to traditions, she told me about the name day celebrations that were regarded as a bigger event than birthdays among the Transylvanian-Saxons[185].

Her sister also mentioned the unity and community spirit as the most important characteristic and said that it was nice how long traditions had survived as part of this spirit. However she conceded that with the younger generations, she sometimes has the feeling that they are less interested in customs. Furthermore, she mentioned the Transylvanian-Saxon brass band, of which the entire family has been members, the Blasi festival, which is celebrated in Elixhausen every year and also said that she enjoyed the re-union parties every few years, where people from different places meet up again.

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[183] Like Mr a he also mentioned the personality and character of the Transylvanian-Saxon population, at least as he knows it was before the war and evacuation. To him, there was primarily the unity and the orderly structure of everyday life through the seasons, and putting the vicar and church into the centre. Furthermore, he admires the fact how the majority of people grew up bi-, if not tri-lingual, speaking Romanian and/or Hungarian, as well as German. In respect to village culture, he thought it was essential to mention the brother- and sisterhoods, which covered different aspects in the life of the villagers, from birth to death, and meant that the other 'brothers' and 'sisters' helped out whenever another one required assistance.

[184] "I see it as our strength and it is still present, even today. I can see it in my own family, my sister's, with the people in Elixhausen, they are still helping each other, obviously not like before with farming tasks, but this getting together, to still celebrate, with these friends, these gatherings, there is still a backbone, still an interest in people, who have moved away, like for example to Canada".

[185] As it was not uncommon for members of one family to share the same Christian name, such as Maria, or Martin, it was also a day where the whole family would come together.

Mrs f said that it is mainly the different dialects that she connects with Transylvania, and while she cannot speak any dialect fluently herself, she is able to distinguish between different ones (North Transylvania, South Transylvania), as the settlement in Gneis consisted of people who originated from various parts of Transylvania[186].

Her sister, on the other hand, believes that the beauty of Transylvania, the historic achievements of the Transylvanian-Saxons and the numerous 'Kirchenburgen' in Transylvania, are worth mentioning the most.

Mrs h said that, to her, Transylvania was her roots, the home of her parents and relatives but in respect to the Transylvanian-Saxon culture in Austria today, it was primarily the Siebenbürger-Sachsen Verein, as she had been a member and secretary of this club for many years.

Mrs i also remarked on the community spirit, adding that they also often displayed a tendency towards honesty and sincerity. Furthermore, she mentioned maintaining German culture as an important trait. She was also the first one to mention Transylvanian-Saxon cookery and said that she used to do a lot of embroidery work following Transylvanian-Saxon cross-stitch patterns when she was younger.

Mrs j also chose the sense of community as the primary character of Transylvanian-Saxon culture and said that this was something the Austrians did not have. She also agreed that this helpfulness was still practised today within the second generation.

Sachsenheim settlement

Mr k told me that while he would be able to speak about many aspects of Transylvanian-Saxon history, to him the most typical or important cultural feature was how well the Transylvanian-Saxons had set up a German enclave so far away from their original home country and had managed to defend their culture against so many foreign influences around them.

His sister on the other hand, mentioned not only the traditional outfits and food, but also the community sense, which she told me could also result in a kind of narrow-mindedness, with the group not seeking any outside contacts as they had each other.

[186] Apart from that, she associates her mother's childhood memories and stories with Transylvania, but said that she sometimes felt they were exaggerated to some extent.

However, she insisted that this had now changed greatly with people of her generation, who had never lived in Transylvania or in the way their parents did[187].

Unlike other people interviewed, Mr m does not believe that the community spirit, which has emerged as the characteristic most frequently used to describe the Transylvanian-Saxons by the second generation in this survey, is something that does not apply to the Austrians[188]. He added that the most important Transylvanian-Saxon characteristic of maintaining a German culture was their extensive farming knowledge, which proved useful to many new settlers in Austria after the evacuation.

Mrs n also echoed many of the sentiments expressed already, when she highlighted honesty and community sense as the most important Transylvanian-Saxon characteristics. She also said that despite the fact that people might have less close contact with each other than the first generation, this was not due to a change in attitude. She told me that she was certain that if she sought closer contact with Transylvanian-Saxons, she would immediately be warmly welcomed.

Grown up outside a settlement

The comments made by the interviewees in this group are very different, due to, as will be seen, the experience the individuals have had with Transylvanian-Saxon groups themselves.

Mr o who through his relationship and interest in his family background travelled frequently to Transylvania, and can appreciate the beauty of the country, or the culinary delights, is particularly critical about some aspects he believes to be characteristics of the Transylvanian-Saxon group mentality: he argues that it was the belief that their group was better or more intelligent than the co-habiting groups that ultimately resulted in them being led to their ruin, through foolish decisions being made by their leaders, as they focussed on an apartheid-style policy too much[189].

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[187] Furthermore, she mentioned that through the stories of her grandparents and parents, she associates Transylvania with images such as horse-drawn carriages, sweetcorn fields or gypsies. She said that in order to answer the question of 'what is Transylvania' she travelled there in 2001 and interviewed people of the different ethnic groups. Despite the fact that the German-speaking population has been reduced greatly in the last 40 to 60 years, she still feels that it is this meeting of such different and diverse cultures and ethnic groups, which is the most characteristic part of Transylvania, and has effectively influenced the mentality of the Transylvanian-Saxons as a group as well as that of the other co-habiting ethnies.

[188] He argues, that it is merely in Salzburg, which has settlements with scattered buildings and properties, that people do not show the same amount of neighbourly concern as they do in other parts of Austria, such as Burgenland or Tyrol.

[189] He believes that unfortunately, this is still the attitude of some first- and second generation members as he received very negative comments about delivering medical aid to Romania after Ceausescu's

Mrs p admitted that she only knows about Transylvanian-Saxon culture through her mother's stories and memories, which are mainly positive. She was able to name "sprinkling" at Easter as a traditional Transylvanian-Saxon custom but apart from recalling reading a book about Transylvania when she was a lot younger, she said that she does not know a lot about its culture, especially as she has never visited the country herself.

While the majority of comments made are positive – highlighting especially the sense of community and willingness to help others, as well as the welcoming attitudes towards other Transylvanian-Saxons who might live abroad or only attend events and gatherings once in a while – there are also critical issues raised concerning their conservative and segregate nature and their superior feeling towards other ethnic groups. There were two opposing views of the Transylvanian-Saxons: either being conservative but tolerant towards others, or just plainly conservative and racist. It was interesting to see that the majority of answers related to the characteristics of the Transylvanian-Saxon nature, rather than naming a historical event, a dish, or a tradition, as it shows that most interviewees, regardless of the community they grew up in, obviously feel they are familiar enough with Transylvanian-Saxon culture to comment on their characteristics. It would have been easy for most interviewees to just make positive remarks about certain traditions or costumes, and I do not think that it is a co-incidence that the interviewees who gave critical or negative answers, are also the ones that have visited Transylvania more often than the others and concerned themselves more with the subject. However, those who made very positive comments about the helpfulness of the group usually did so having been able to see this happening themselves and were equally passionate about defending their view. Only a minority gave 'safe' answers, relating to traditions or the dialect. It was also interesting to note that hardly any interviewee mentioned religion in this respect, considering that quite a few of them had commented on their (often bad) experiences as a child. Of course, this could mean that the interviewees felt that they had already spoken about this aspect of Transylvanian-Saxon culture and wanted to add something different in answer to this question, but there is also a chance that religion is less important to them these days. As the question was not asked in order to test the interviewees' knowledge on the history of Transylvania, how many

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death, which brought treatments not only to the German-speaking population but also the other groups. He was disgusted by what some Transylvanian-Saxons said to him on his return, questioning and berating him for helping Romanians.

different dishes they could name or which dialect terms they would know, but what they connected with Transylvania and Transylvanian-Saxon culture, it is perhaps understandable that most decided to answer in a manner that described the group subjectively. The fascinating thing is that so many independently chose to name community spirit as the most important characteristic to mention in order to describe the Transylvanian-Saxons, and while this is perhaps due to the fact that many experienced this first-hand after the war when the majority of the group had little or no material means, one has to remember that organisations such as brother- and sisterhoods were in existence for a long time (pre-dominantly in the villages) in Transylvania, so that the attitude towards helping each other was not something exclusively generated by the situation after the war. The overall impression given by the interviewees was of a culture they obviously feel that they know well (nobody hesitated or had to think about their answer) and also one, that most are proud of to be associated with and willing to defend. The answers also showed that interviewees believe that certain Transylvanian-Saxon characteristics are not restricted to life in Transylvania but globally applicable. More importantly, some interviewees believe that those values and characteristics have been passed on to the next generation(s).

3.4 Interest in Transylvania independent of motivation by first generation

In order to establish how much the individuals were interested in their own Transylvanian-Saxon background, I asked them whether they had ever undertaken any activity to further their knowledge about Transylvania and without being motivated to do so by a parent or friend/relative from the first generation. This could be indicative as to what importance the individual places on his/her Transylvanian-Saxon identity and whether they might pass on information about the culture to their own children. The activities that I expected the interviewees to have undertaken were travelling to Transylvania, subscribing to the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper, reading books or joining societies to further their knowledge. I believed that while some might have gained extra information through books, travel or joining clubs, the majority would have relied or still rely on contact with the first generation to inform them about Transylvanian-Saxon culture.

Born in Transylvania

Mr a told me that while he has not been back to Transylvania since he left as a child, he might travel to Hermannstadt, as he has plans to write an autobiographical text that would feature Transylvania, but he is not sure at the moment, when he might start this project. However, he has already published one piece of work, the diary of his step-grandfather, a Transylvanian-Saxon bishop, which required special dedication as it was written in a rare type of shorthand, which had to be deciphered by an expert[190]. He also briefly subscribed to the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper, but was very disappointed by its quality (he is a journalist), as he feels it has nothing of interest to offer to young people and its style is old-fashioned and dusty.

Mrs b told me that she is a member of the Stefan-Ludwig-Roth choir and travelled to Transylvania with them as part of a tour. While she was there, she also had the opportunity to visit her parents' hometown and meet with relatives who still lived there. On another occasion she travelled to Bucharest by herself in order to visit other family members. On the subject of the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper, she

[190] Subsequently, he had to edit the work, which consisted of seven to eight exercise books and persevered until he had found a publisher, which also proved difficult.

said that she had stopped her subscription as she felt that it was no longer relevant to her and mainly contained obituaries of people she did not know anyway[191].

Mr c said that he had travelled to Transylvania on several occasions; the first time with his (Transylvanian-Saxon) wife to visit relatives who still lived there; from 1975 onwards particularly on behalf of a Salzburg county parish in order to bring aid to Protestant parishes in Transylvania[192]. During these trips, he was able to see some of the architectural and geographical beauty, which has inspired him to go again on a more intensive sightseeing trip to Transylvania once he retires in a few years' time.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

While Mrs d said that she had visited Transylvania frequently with her parents and sister, and even her future husband joined her family on holiday there once, she has not travelled there without her parents[193]. However, she has put a lot of time and energy into helping to organise different Siebenbürger-Verein events during the year – such as Christmas and Mother's day – and has a number of books about Transylvania, particularly about the towns her parents are from, which she has also given to her daughter to read.

Her sister has not been back to Transylvania since her youth either, even though she is also looking forward to going there with her family in the near future. However, she decided from quite a young age to concern herself with Transylvanian-Saxon culture: "I always said I am only going to marry a Transylvanian-Saxon. The boys there seemed so different, they were not as direct as the Austrians, completely different in the way boys were here. And that's why said I'll only marry a Transylvanian-Saxon. And I did."

Mrs f went to Transylvania twice – both times with her family – in order to visit relatives. While she enjoyed her time there, she said that she would not consider going again at the moment, as all her family have since left and now live mainly in Germany. She said that she has access to the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper as

[191] As member of the Siebenbürger Verein, she is aware of all the local events, so she feels that the paper which mainly covers Germany is not anything she can relate to.
[192] In order to do so, he had to take his whole family with, not to raise suspicion with the border control; for example adults were not allowed to have children's clothing in their luggage.
[193] This is not due to a lack of interest, in fact her sister and her have planned for some time to go there with their children, but have so far always had to postpone their trips for different reasons.

her mother has a subscription and reads it whenever she gets the opportunity but is not sure whether she would subscribe to it herself [194].

Her sister, who had also travelled to Transylvania as a child with her family, decided to take her children there to show them the towns her parents had originated from. They went there by car in 1990 at Easter, shortly after Ceausescu's fall and visited relatives, who have since left Transylvania. However, she has not returned since and has no plans to do so in the immediate future.

Mrs h went to Transylvania twice - at the age of ten and sixteen – on both occasions with her mother. While she would have loved to return as an adult, she said that she was unable to do so, mainly due to the costs involved. Furthermore, both her parents died when she was fairly young; so she believes that her interest in Transylvanian-Saxon culture and the involvement with the Siebenbürger Verein, where she is particularly interested in travel documentaries by members, are the results of her own initiative.

Mrs i said that she had not felt motivated to concern herself with Transylvania extensively: while she visited Transylvania once as a 12-year old, she felt there was little point in returning after all her relatives had left and she could sense her father's disappointment about the situation there. With regards to the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper, she said that she reads it occasionally when visiting her mother, who subscribes to it, but would not consider this option herself.

Mrs j said that she had visited Transylvania only once – at the age of 18 – with her parents. She is planning to go again, at least once more, particularly as she has a cousin who still lives there and who visited her family in Austria five years ago. However, plans to visit her cousin in Romania in return have been postponed for several reasons. The interviewee does not subscribe to the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper either, but said that she has the opportunity to read it at her sister's.

Sachsenheim settlement

Mr k said that he had travelled to Transylvania with his parents on a few occasions and in recent years decided to take his children there[195]. The interviewee decided not

[194] "I don't know whether any of the people in there mean anything to me; when I was a child one of their journalists lived opposite us... and I read the paper regularly".

to subscribe to the printed version of the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper but regularly reads its online newsletters.

His sister has taken her interest in the family's cultural background so far that she started to film a documentary about Transylvania. In 2001 she travelled there with her mother, to interview her about the family's life in Botsch but also to talk to other villagers and members of the different nationalities present. She has not completed her project yet but is aiming to do so. Her family's attempts of getting back their property and land have so far been unsuccessful, but she is now considering buying a house in Transylvania anyway, as the property prices are cheap.

Mr m joined the Transylvanian-Saxon brass band when he was in his twenties and played for them until recently at different events in- and outside the county of Salzburg. He travelled to Transylvania at the age of 18 with his parents, and then on a couple of occasions with the band. Like most of the interviewees, he does not subscribe to the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper himself, but relies on first generation relatives, who pass it on to the family after they have read it.

Mrs n went to Transylvania only once, at the age of ten, with her family, but the political unrest and the situation in the last 20-30 years have put her off going again, as there are no relatives left there and she feels it is not a holiday destination. Like most others, she does not think that the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper still holds any relevance to her since she does not know any of the people featured in it[196].

Grown up outside a settlement

As already mentioned, Mr o decided to look more deeply into his Transylvanian-Saxon identity and travelled to Transylvania on a couple of occasions, where he also eventually met his wife. However, he is also rather critical of the Transylvanian-Saxon mentality and says he is an Austrian. Regardless of his criticism and lack of identification, he has joined the Siebenbürger Verein and dresses up to play St Nicholas (a Santa Claus type of figure) for the annual Christmas party[197].

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[195] They travelled there on their own – by car rather than on an organised coach trip – and visited the family's hometown amongst other places.

[196] If at all, she reads it when her parents point her towards an interesting article and pass their copy to her.

[197] He insists however, that he got this role by accident, after his mother kept insisting that he should take his children along to the events of the Verein, which often includes children reciting poems, playing pieces of music or singing songs in return for sweets. He also comes across as rather knowledgeable on the subject of Transylvania, regarding economy or political situation or history but never quite

Mrs p has never been to Transylvania, mainly out of fear as her parents had fled Transylvania after the war. As they have an uncommon but well-known surname, they were too scared to return in later years, a fear that also rubbed off onto their daughter. Now, she says that she would generally be interested in going there once to see towns and properties connected to the family, but only if she could go with somebody to show her around[198]. She does not read the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper and has no real interest in doing so.

The majority of interviewees are interested enough in their family's Transylvanian-Saxon roots that they have decided to follow up this fascination in a number of ways; be it through the most passive of options, reading their parents' *Siebenbürger Zeitung*, although hardly any have subscribed to it themselves or would consider to do so. Others have read books on their parents' hometowns or the history of Transylvania, to give them some idea of the place their family is from. Only a couple mentioned cookery or traditional handicrafts, or celebrating name days or Easter following Transylvanian-Saxon customs.

A number have been more pro-active through joining the singing club, the brass band or the Siebenbürger Verein[199]. Of course, the number of members at these clubs is small and the relevance of such organisations will be discussed in a later part of this chapter, but with only few first generation members alive, it is an indication that there is a hope for their future survival.

Quite a few of the interviewees have also undertaken travel to Transylvania, and while all but a couple visited the country with their parents at a young age, a number went back, either to show it to their own children, or just to go back to the places they remember from their own journeys when they were younger. Only a small number

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acknowledges it to be something he wanted to learn about out of his own free will but rather something that was either forced on him or that he picked up along the way by accident.

[198] However, as she does not expect to find somebody willing to go with her and able to be her guide, she does not expect that the trip will actually ever take place.

[199] There, they not only help to organise events and maintain the playing and singing of songs and pieces of music that might otherwise be forgotten, put on their costumes and keep the name of the Transylvanian-Saxons alive at a range of occasions, but they themselves also keep in regular contact with first as well as other second generation members and keep a community spirit going

still have family there, with many Transylvanian-Saxons leaving in the 1970s and then again in the 1990s[200].

Two interviewees have undertaken or are planning creative projects that involve Transylvania, in which they assess their identity[201].

[200] This was also the reason, why quite a few of them would not consider going back there now – because they have memories of visiting relatives and friends of their parents, which gave Transylvania a homely atmosphere despite the political situation and poverty – but now feel that they would not find anything/one they can relate to.

[201] While one – a film about the interviewee's family as well as the multi-cultural aspects of life in Transylvania- has not been edited yet and might eventually just be for private or family use, another interviewee is planning an autobiographical work, which he eventually intends to publish. He has already published a book related to Transylvania as he edited his step-grandfather's diary.

3.5 Transylvanian-Saxon items in the interviewees' homes

Tying in with the previous question, I asked the interviewees whether they had any items (family or otherwise) from Transylvania in their home and what these items meant to them. While I expected that the interviewees of South Transylvanian background, would still have several family heirlooms in their possession, this would not likely to be the case with the North Transylvanian interviewees. However, while all of the first generation interviewees had some items reminding them of Transylvania or indicating their origin on prominent display in their homes, I was not sure whether the same would be true for the second generation.

Born in Transylvania

Mr a has no family heirloom as such at home, but told me that he has one Transylvanian item that means a lot to him; the diaries of his step-grandfather. He feels that the publication of the diaries was a valuable contribution to re-look at the Transylvanian-Saxon history and says that he is worried already as to who will one day look after the originals.

Mrs b who was five years old at the time of the evacuation, said that her family was unable to take anything with them, and all the items from Transylvania where therefore bought in more recent years, mainly jugs and pieces of embroidery[202].

Mr c also fled with his family; however they were able to take a couple of items such as jugs, smaller maps and pictures with them and he displays them in his home now. Furthermore, he has a complete traditional outfit and a few new items that he brought back from trips to Transylvania over the past years[203].

[202] However, she does not have them on display at all times, and said that when she finds an item at a shop these days that she likes, she thinks nothing of replacing her Transylvanian-Saxon items for a while; she does not feel the need to display them permanently.

[203] While other refugees had the opportunity to return to their former homes and find some of their belongings there after the war, this was not possible in his case: when his parents left Transylvania they had just completed the building work to their new house. Soon after their departure, it was used as a police station and has remained this way ever since.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mrs d remembers her family's almost annual trips to Transylvania very well, where they not only visited her grandparents, but usually took back items that relatives passed on to them[204]. In later years, and as her grandparents got older, she went to Transylvania with her Austrian husband and her parents, and also brought back larger pieces, such as furniture; fortunately enough, they were never found out at the border. She still displays some of the things her grandparents gave her in her home today, and feels that their history and the way that they came to Austria gives them special value.

Her sister, who is married to a Transylvanian-Saxon has items from both sides of the family; embroidered tablecloths from her husband's grandparents, and pieces of china from her own grandparents, which she still uses occasionally.

Mrs f said that she mainly has items from her mother's side of the family but also some that her father's parents passed on to her. While many of these items are antiques, such as furniture, carpets, rugs and pictures, she said that they would equally mean as much to her if they did not have such a high material value, as they remind her of her parents. She uses them on a regular basis, particularly the furniture, vases and tablecloths, and while most pieces do not indicate a specific Transylvanian-Saxon origin, she knows the background and history in relation to their family of most of them, and said that she would mention it to visitors. There are also some old maps of Transylvania on display in the interviewee's living room.

Her sister also has a few pieces of furniture, that were brought over from the family house in Transylvania after the war, in her living room, but points out that they are not Transylvanian-Saxon as such, as they were originally imported from Germany at the end of the 19th century[205].

Mrs h has several pieces that were part of her mother's dowry – such as old jugs, polished glasses and plates, as well as embroidery her mother and grandmother made themselves, which she still displays in her home. Furthermore, she is

[204] Among the pieces they smuggled into Austria was jewellery or china, usually small items that would not be found easily.
[205] All the typically Transylvanian-Saxon items she has got, such as maps or jugs, would be too rustic to fit with the rest of her furniture and she therefore keeps them in rooms that visitors would not automatically see, such as the kitchen or the bedroom

particularly proud of her traditional costume which she has worn to several events over the past 30 years.

Mrs i also mentioned the traditional outfit as one of her favourite items, as she wore it as far back as her confirmation. She also has various other items she was given by her parents – her father died recently – such as paintings, embroideries or books, and said they mean a lot to her because she knows the background of most of them.

Mrs j said that while she had got some jugs, they were no longer on display in her home but stored in a box in the cellar. She also said that her family were unable to take any other kind of items with them when they were evacuated.

Sachsenheim settlement

Like some of the other interviewees already mentioned the settlers of the Sachsenheim settlement were mainly from North Transylvania, and therefore restricted in the type and amount of items they were able to take with them[206]. However, since the question does not aim to find out what kind or how many old items the interviewees have got in their home but rather whether they still had anything on display that could be identified as Transylvanian-Saxon, I thought that there was a good chance that perhaps more modern items, such as embroideries or other handicraft which had been produced in Austria, would have been passed on through the families. However, only one of the interviewees, who grew up in Sachsenheim, still lives there now, with the other two living in the city of Salzburg and England respectively.

Mr k, who now lives in Salzburg, told me that the items in his home that are connected to Transylvania are restricted to jugs, and a tie his father wore as part of his traditional outfit. However, he did not say whether he displayed either of these things on a regular basis.

His sister has only embroidered items – ranging from tablecloths and rugs to framed embroidery pictures. While some of these items were created in Sachsenheim, others are dating back to the late 19th century and were made by her great-great-grandmother. She also told me that she has even taken all of these pieces abroad with her but has decided to keep them in box because they do not fit in with her

[206] Also, since most people were advised at the time of the evacuation that they would only be away from home for a few days, only few took more than was absolutely necessary for the anticipated time.

home's decor. However, she told me that the embroideries mean a lot to her, especially the knowledge that her ancestors had put their energy into creating them.

Mr m still lives in Sachsenheim, and while he has numerous items from both his and his wife's parents, ranging from tableware to embroideries – he has got one favourite piece: his traditional costume which he wore when performing with the brass band[207].

Mrs n told me that there are no old heirlooms in her family but her father had brought back some old vases from a few of his trips to Transylvania for her. While she at one time thought that "tradition is important" and put them all around her living room, she recently felt that they did not fit in with the general style of the furniture and home anymore and put them away again[208].

Grown up outside a settlement

Mr o told me that despite the fact that his parents did not flee Transylvania, they left everything behind when they decided to move to Austria. In later years the interviewee as well as his parents travelled to Transylvania on several occasions and he said that he bought or was given a number of souvenirs, such as jugs[209].

Mrs p has no items at all of Transylvanian-Saxon origin. The only thing that she can think of that it is even from the area is a traditional Romanian blouse, which she was given years ago but does not wear or display on a regular basis.

While the majority of interviewees still have some items in their household – old or new, inherited or self-bought – not all feel that these are things that reflect their taste or are so important to them that they need to be on display at all times. While the first generation was perhaps more concerned about indicating their origin prominently in their homes, and receiving comfort from the fact that they had items reminding them of their 'old' home in their 'new' one, the second generation does not need this re-assurance, as most of them have only ever lived in Austria. It seemed that for the second generation it is more of a taste than denial or relevance question in regard to

[207] The entire outfit was made especially for him by his mother and grandmother, and as he joined the band at quite a young age, he said that he needed a new shirt almost every year when he was still growing, each of which is embroidered extensively.
[208] While she remembers her aunt and grandmother embroidering wall covers, cushions and tablecloths, she was never given any of these items herself.
[209] However, since his second wife (he is now divorced from first wife, whom he had met in Transylvania) is an Austrian and not interested in Transylvanian-Saxon culture, there are no items in his home to indicate that background whatsoever.

their identity; the items the interviewees most seem to make use of are the neutral ones that fit in with the rest of their decor, and a number admitted that the 'traditional' Transylvanian-Saxon embroideries and jugs or vases were too rustic in comparison with the rest of their interior and were therefore often banished to the cellar or kitchen. It is not surprising that one interviewee named his traditional outfit as his favourite item, as he had seen the amount of work that his mother and grandmother had put into creating it for him, and of course he also associates it strongly with his own memories of playing for the band. Likewise, items that have a 'story' of being taken out of Transylvania during the post-war years 'illegally' hold perhaps a more special place in their owners' hearts than something that they received or purchased with ease.

3.6 Contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons today

As most of the people I spoke to, have grown up in neighbourhoods where several other Transylvanian-Saxon families lived as well, I thought it would be interesting and relevant to discover how many are still in contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons they had either grown up with or met through clubs or events. While it seemed obvious that somebody still living in Sachsenheim would naturally still know others who had also grown up in the village, or their families, the situation is different in Gneis/Eichethof, with only a minority of second generation members raising their families in the houses they grew up in, or staying in the area. While all interviewees are still in contact with Transylvanian-Saxon family members, and some of them attend gatherings every few years, the question is more aimed at discovering whether the community spirit that the first generation has been praised for so extensively is something that still exists for the next generation, and whether they felt that they have something in common with other Transylvanian-Saxons outside their immediate family.

Born in Transylvania

Mr a grew up outside a settlement upon his arrival in Austria and later moved to Germany. While he has always been in contact with some members of his family, he has got no friends of Transylvanian-Saxon descent, and said that it was only by chance that he had met an old couple from Transylvania recently, who had attended one of his readings and asked him whether he was related to the Transylvanian-Saxon bishop (his step great-grandfather) whose diaries he had published.

Mrs b on the other hand, has a number of Transylvanian-Saxon friends she meets regularly. While she met some of them through the choir, she has known others almost her entire life, from when her family originally arrived in Austria and stayed in a camp. Apart from the singing activities she meets these friends to go to the theatre once a month, or for a glass of wine. However, she also insisted that she has plenty of Austrian friends too, with whom she gets on just as well.

Mr c is organising annual coach trips for Transylvanian-Saxon pensioners in Salzburg, and therefore says he knows and is in contact with quite a few people. As he was an only child and has no immediate relatives (such as parents' brothers and

sisters), there are only a few, distant first generation family members left who he knows. Apart from that he met many of the people he is still in contact with today through growing up with them and joining the Siebenbürger Verein. Therefore, his contacts are not restricted to first generation members but also include a lot of friends of his own age.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mrs d grew up in Gneis but later moved nearer to the Eichethof settlement with her family. While that means that she does not see her former neighbours, some of whom are still in Gneis, as much as she used to, she is still in regular contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons, primarily through the Siebenbürger-Verein and through contacts with people in Sachsenheim.

Her sister agrees that living in Sachsenheim and her husband's involvement with music has been a major factor in staying in contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons. However, through the brass band, the couple have also met musicians in Germany, some of them recent settlers who only left Transylvania in the 1970s, and have stayed in contact with them for more than 20 years.

Mrs f says that her two best friends are Transylvanian-Saxons and that she has known them both since she was five years old and grew up with them in Gneis. She met other second generation members her own age at the annual Christmas parties organised by the Siebenbürger Verein, and while she would still recognise them today, she has no regular contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons as she does not belong to any organisations.

Her sister, who lives in Vienna, attends family gatherings every few years, to which an average of 120 people come together, but has no contact to Transylvanian-Saxons otherwise. She has never met any in Vienna, and while she knew many Transylvanian-Saxons from the first generation who were in contact with her mother, she has no idea about their children or grandchildren.

Mrs h on the other hand, has hardly any first generation relatives left, as both of her parents died at a young age. However, she still lives in the same house she grew up in and says that she is contact with members from all different generations of the families who are still in the area. Furthermore, she is a member of the Siebenbürger Verein.

In contrast, Mrs i has no contact at all with other Transylvanian-Saxons from her own or other generations. While she grew up in Gneis, her family later moved, and whilst they were still living very close to Eichethof and Gneis, they were no longer in the settlement area. Subsequently, the contact with people her own age ceased and while she still knows them, they have turned from friends into acquaintances.

Mrs j said that she and her husband have more contact with his Austrian friends, and that he hardly knows any of the Transylvanian-Saxon people she grew up with. However, while they do not meet up with her Transylvanian-Saxon friends as a couple, she still invites them to Tupperware parties or coffee mornings, and finds them easier to talk to with regards to family than her Austrian friends[210].

Interviewees from Sachsenheim

While Mr k no longer lives in Sachsenheim, he is still in contact with some of the people he grew up with. However, like some other interviewees he is not a member of the Siebenbürger Verein and has not made friends with other Transylvanian-Saxons as an adult.

His sister on the other hand, has no friends left from her childhood in Sachsenheim. Still, she is very interested in her Transylvanian-Saxon identity and family background, and told me that when she is on business travels, she will often go through the telephone books in places she stays at, such as the USA, to look for people listed who share her family's surname[211].

Mr m on the other hand, has many Saxon contacts around the world, from Austria and Germany, to Canada and the USA, where not only he has relatives but also made new friends when he visited those countries with the brass band[212].

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[210] As the roots are there, she believes there is lots of common ground between them which one does not lose again.

[211] When calling them, she has sometimes discovered that these people's family had originated from Transylvania, but she has not found any relatives through this method. On another occasion she stopped a couple to ask whether they were Transylvanian-Saxon when she recognised their accent. Overall though, none of her close friends are of Transylvanian-Saxon origin.

212 While he discovered that many of the Transylvanian-Saxons of later generations have never been to Transylvania or speak the dialect, he still found that he had some things in common with them and has stayed in contact with them over several years.

Mrs n, despite growing up with lots of other Transylvanian-Saxon children, has lost contact with all of them apart from one friend, who lives in Vienna and whom she does not see regularly due to the distance.

Grown up outside of a settlement

As Mr o is still involved with the Siebenbürger Verein, through playing the St. Nicholas figure once a year at their Christmas party, he said that he knows other Transylvanian-Saxons but generally does not keep in contact with anyone he meets there. He also does not attend any other meetings of the Verein and has mainly Austrian friends.

Mrs p simply answered "no" to my question. Apart from her immediate family she has no friends of Transylvanian-Saxon origin or has ever been a member of any of the organisations.

Across all the groups, there are interviewees who say that they now have very limited or no contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons. While this is perhaps not so surprising in regard to the last group, lack of friendships among the second and third group seems to be a direct result of people moving away from the area. It is obvious that those with the most frequent and intense contacts are the members of the Siebenbürger Verein, the band or the choir, and it is fascinating how friendships have developed across countries and even continents. However, it is equally encouraging to hear the stories of those who have only got one or two people they are still in touch with but regard them as their best friends, 50 years after they first met, which in a way reflects on the often quoted 'community sense' in the settlements. Those, who have no contacts to other Transylvanian-Saxons at all are mostly those who had very little contact from a young age anyway, or have moved into a completely different area, where they either did not attempt to make contact with Transylvanian-Saxon organisations, or their family do not have any relatives or friends. This indicates that geographical factors do play an important role with regards to most interviewees' contact with other Saxons today.

3.7 Passing on information to next generation/future of Transylvanian-Saxon organisations

My last two questions were directly aimed at establishing how much the interviewees would be willing to contribute to maintaining a Transylvanian-Saxon identity. Firstly, I wanted to know whether they are or would be considering passing on their knowledge of Transylvanian-Saxon culture to their children and grandchildren even after the first generation has gone. I asked what kind of details they thought would be important to give to the following generations. While I was expecting most people to mention family histories and stories as the type of information they would most likely want to pass on, I was also expecting historic facts, cultural traditions and customs, as a number of interviewees seem to have extensive knowledge of these aspects. Furthermore, I expected the majority of interviewees to tell me that they would pass on details to the next generations, although I was doubtful about whether those interviewees, who grew up outside a community, would consider it essential.

Regarding the second question, I expected interviewees to have quite opposing views on whether they thought that maintaining the Siebenbürger Verein and other similar organisations concerning themselves with Transylvanian-Saxon culture should be attempted even after the departure of the first generation[213]. As the majority of interviewees had indicated some sense of Transylvanian-Saxon identity, I felt that these two questions were perhaps the most important to try to predict its continued existence for the next few decades.

Born in Transylvania

Mr a told me that he would only pass on information in reaction to specific questions by younger relatives but would not try to educate them about Transylvania regardless of their interest in the subject. As he feels he knows too little about Transylvanian-Saxon traditions, he said that he would mention important historic facts, such the Turk Wars or the non-existence of serfdom. Concerning the future of the Siebenbürger Verein and other institutions, he believes that there would only be a

[213] While some of the second generation interviewees I spoke to are members of the Siebenbürger Verein, the majority are not associated with any such organisations and have not indicated an interest in joining such a club. However, stopping all activities dedicated to preserving Transylvanian-Saxon culture might also sound extreme to some, and I therefore anticipated a number of non-members expressing the view of supporting a continued existence of the Verein and other clubs and valuing their activities. If interviewees were not interested in contributing to their maintenance through active measures, I believed that quite a few would at least be willing to make a financial donation if prompted.

point in maintaining them if they started to concern themselves with the relocation of some of the people of Transylvanian-Saxon descent to Transylvania in order to increase their number there and preserve the historic treasures in their original home[214]. The interviewee concluded that it would lead to problems if somebody would claim to be Transylvanian-Saxon while living outside Transylvania, as it would mean that they would take advantage of the country while denying it at the same time.

Mrs b said that she frequently talks about Transylvania to other people of her age or younger, discussing such aspects as her family's evacuation and early life in Austria. However, while she finds it easy to discuss these matters with people of a similar fate and background she, like the previous interviewee, would not like to impose her stories on younger people, unless she is specifically asked to talk about Transylvania. As a member of the Siebenbürger Verein and choir, she has few hopes for the future of such organisations, as too many members of her generation have married Austrians rather than fellow Transylvanian-Saxons, and it would be wrong to expect partners to attend events that they might not be able to relate to or where they don't know anybody. In her opinion it is only for the benefit of the first generation that Christmas and Mother's Day celebrations are still organised by the Siebenbürger Verein, and thinks that this is going to come to an end soon after the first generation are gone[215].

Mr c said that it is not only important to pass information on to the next generations, but that they also should be interested in where their family had come from. Besides the aspects of the long maintenance of German culture, he thinks it is also important to mention historical highlights, such as the numerous attacks by the Turks and the brave responses by the Transylvanian-Saxon population. On a culinary level, he said that there are many dishes his children had got to know and that should also be passed on to future generations, such as polenta and stuffed peppers, or the various sweets, particularly the so-called Baumstriezel. Most important to him, however, are maintaining the values of close family life and the religious spirit of Christmas. This, he believes is still evident in all the Transylvanian-Saxon families he knows. Like

[214] He said: "It is impossible to be a Transylvanian-Saxon outside Transylvania. You cannot be, regardless of what (nationality) you are, because after a certain time, you will be integrated. If I emigrate, I have to accept after some time, that I am no longer a Transylvanian-Saxon, but an American, German, Pole or Russian, in short I have to accept the identity of the country which gives me the opportunity to live a decent life".

[215] Looking at her own family, with younger relatives living in different parts of the country and concentrating mainly on their careers or studies, she believes it is understandable that the end of these institutions is only a question of time.

another interviewee, he also sees a potential in Transylvanian-Saxons, especially those whose families left more recently, returning to Transylvania in order to increase the German-speaking population again[216].

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Mrs d admitted that while she had tried to pass on Transylvanian-Saxon traditions to her daughter and also took her to the Christmas and Mother's Day events organised by the Siebenbürger Verein, her daughter has not (perhaps yet) shown the interest she had hoped for. However, this would not deter the interviewee from trying to pass on her knowledge to the next generations. She believes that the one Transylvanian-Saxon quality her daughter most identifies with is the strong sense of family, not just the immediate but wider family, and being ready to help them out whenever necessary. While she acknowledged that there are less people of the second or further generations attending the events of the Siebenbürger Verein, she feels that there is still a respectable number of children of the third generation taking part at the Christmas and Mother's Day celebrations and dancing group[217]. She also mentioned the potential of Transylvania as a country for tourism, if the relevant changes were to be made and believes that more third and fourth generations would become more interested in their Transylvanian-Saxon identity if Transylvania was an attractive holiday destination.

Her sister said that while she has passed on some Transylvanian-Saxon recipes to her daughter, it was perhaps her children's involvement with the brass band that has given them the best sense of Transylvanian-Saxon identity and something that they will be able to pass on to their own children. While she also recognises a decline in younger people's interest in joining Transylvanian-Saxon organisations, she is not worried so much about its demise once the first generation is gone, but believes that once her generation has died the future of the Siebenbürger Verein will be under threat. For the time being, she believes the best thing to do is to continue taking part in as many events as possible, where the whole family still wears their traditional outfits. Furthermore, whenever a gathering is planned with Transylvanian-Saxons

[216] He is especially hopeful that this could be made easier by Romania becoming part of the EU and the removal of border controls. He believes that this could help rebuild Transylvania to some of its former beauty that was affected by years of Communism and might be beneficial for tourism.

[217] She believes that having seen the fun the children have taking part in these events, there should be a strong reason for trying to maintain it for future generations, especially as she feels that too little value is placed on children interaction in an "age of computers, television and game-boys". However, as she has seen with her own daughter, she knows that this can be challenging to achieve.

from other towns or countries attending, she invites people to stay with her family in order to aid the future existence of these get-togethers.

Mrs f said that while she plans to inform future generations about Transylvania, she will restrict this to stories related to the family, as she feels that her knowledge of Transylvanian history and Transylvanian-Saxon culture is not extensive enough. She hopes that the Siebenbürger Verein will continue to exist and said that while she is willing to contribute by giving financial donations, she would not want to get actively involved in helping to save it, as she does not see herself as a "club member type".

Her sister on the other hand, said that she hopes to pass on information beyond family stories to her children and grandchildren, but does not believe that there will be enough interest[218]. She would concentrate on the historical achievements of the Transylvanian-Saxons, their beautiful villages and churches as information worth mentioning to future generations. She said that she could also mention some traditions but that these mean less to her as she did not practise them widely herself as a child. While she does not hold a lot of hope for the future of Transylvanian-Saxon organisations, she said that she is amazed every time her extended family meet up for a reunion (every three to four years), at the number of young people attending, who are obviously interested in their background and history. Even though her relatives are spread out across the world, a strong sense of unity between them is clearly visible. However, she does not want to speculate on how many more of these meetings will take place and said that it will soon only be historians who will be interested in Transylvania. If she were approached, she would be willing to contribute to maintaining the institutions[219].

Mrs h said that she had told her own children mainly about the family history, and her own impressions of Transylvania, which she remembers as sooty and poor, therefore making it difficult to relay its former image of a wealthy wine-growing area. While she hopes for a continued existence of the Siebenbürger Verein, especially through

[218] While passing on family recipes might be seen as the most obvious and perhaps easiest aspect of educating the next generation in terms of identity, this interviewee has no intention of doing this, as she believes that most typical Transylvanian-Saxon dishes are too unhealthy due to their content. She said: "If I think of meals such as Weinsteinkraut (a dish consisting, among other ingredients, of different types of meat and sour cream), smoked bacon or fried sausages, these are all foods one cannot cope with any more, these days, and I think that this is reason why so many Transylvanian-Saxons suffered a stroke at the age of 60".

[219] Like other interviewees before her she also considered the situation in Transylvania at the moment and said that she believed that the Romanians are feeling sorry now the Transylvanian-Saxons have left the country in such large numbers and would favour a return of families to the area.

support projects in Transylvania, she believes that maybe it would be better to have one national organisation rather than several small local ones, as she feels that in the case of Salzburg, it is not only due to the lack of new members that the club suffers, but also because the first generation do not seem interested any more. This she feels is particularly regrettable since the Siebenbürger Verein in Salzburg was celebrating its 50th anniversary in 2004. However, as her daughter has joined the traditional dance group, she is also hopeful that some events and traditions will continue beyond her own generation.

As the parents of the next interviewee lived to see their grandchildren grow up (the interviewee's father died only recently), she feels that her children received most of their information from them, especially since her father created a family tree and told them a lot about his travels back to Transylvania. The interviewee herself told them about growing up and family-related stories and would also want to pass this on to the next generation[220]. Concerning the future of the institutions, she said that she feels strongly that the traditions and culture should not be forgotten and that she would be willing to help preserve them. However, she found it hard to predict how long such organisations would be able to maintain their relevance.

Mrs j said that, while her son had learned most things he knows about Transylvania from his grandmother, such as traditional Transylvanian-Saxon songs and understanding the dialect, she has continued many traditions herself and hopes to pass them on to future generations; in particular the celebration of name days, Christmas rituals, such as lifting the Christmas tree to touch the ceiling, or sprinkling on Easter Monday. She would very much regret an end of the Siebenbürger Verein, but believes that there are some dedicated individuals from the third and second generation out there, who will continue the work of the club. She would be willing to help out in principle but thinks that as she is not a member, she would not get approached[221].

[220] Apart from this, she herself was a member of the Transylvanian-Saxon dancing group for a long time, and while her children did not join, these dances are also something she could show and pass on to future generations.
[221] In general, she has supported Transylvanian-Saxon causes through donations, not just financially but through baking Christmas biscuits that were sold by the Siebenbürger Verein to raise money for Transylvanian-Saxon projects.

Sachsenheim settlement

Mr k told me that he, rather than his parents had not only educated his children about the historical aspects of Transylvania, but also on the community life of the Transylvanian-Saxons in Austria after the war. However, through visits to his first generation relatives, his children have also become accustomed with traditions such as sprinkling at Easter and a variety of dishes his mother prepared for them. His views on the future of the Siebenbürger Verein and other institutions are that they are restricted to the interests of traditionalists and no longer of interest to a wider audience. The Transylvanian-Saxons, he thinks, are a group near extinction, and he could not see himself contributing as an active member to prolong the life of these clubs. If he was approached, he would be willing to make a financial donation.

His sister, who lives in the UK and has no children herself, finds the concept of passing on information to the next generation challenging, as she feels she only has her childhood memories and stories of her parents to pass on[222]. However, she is planning to edit the interviews she did on her journey to Transylvania a couple of years ago and believes that once the project is completed, this will be the most interesting thing she can give to the following generations, even if by then it might be slightly out-dated. While she does not know a lot about the organisational background of the Siebenbürger Verein, she believes it is very important to conserve historical and cultural details for the next generations. She said that it is not until most people reach an age of perhaps 25 to 30, or even later, that they start to concern themselves with their family's history and background, and that the number of web-sites related to genealogy proves that it is important to a lot of people to research this topic. However, she said that while she was not sure whether it should be the role of the Siebenbürger Verein to save such information for future generations, she believes that as much information as possible from all generations should be made available publicly, giving people the chance to research a wide range of topics.

Mr m's main aim was to pass on an interest in traditional Transylvanian-Saxon music to his children, which he has done successfully. He also hopes to travel to Transylvania with his children and grandchildren soon, to show them all the places associated with the family. Furthermore, he believes that there are many fantastic Transylvanian-Saxon dishes and is glad that his children are familiar with quite a few of them. While he is hoping for continuing existence of the Siebenbürger Verein, he

[222] She said that she does not cook any Transylvanian-Saxon dishes for herself, as she is a vegetarian, and does not feel that the few biscuit recipes she remembers would be interesting enough to pass on.

believes that the lack of interest among young people makes a future for the organisation very difficult[223].

Mrs n said that she regards it as very important to pass on information about Transylvania to future generations but would restrict this to stories about her family. While she is supportive of the idea of a future for the Siebenbürger Verein, as she thinks that everybody is interested in finding out more about their own roots, she is less willing to contribute towards the maintenance of such organisations as her husband is Austrian and she feels that this has distanced her from the Transylvanian-Saxon community[224].

Grown up outside a settlement

Mr o said that his daughter from his first marriage (to a Transylvanian-Saxon) is in contact with his children from his present marriage (to an Austrian) and that they are attending the Christmas parties organised by the Siebenbürger Verein together. However, apart from this annual event, he believes that there is no real reason to involve his children any further in matters of Transylvanian-Saxon culture. He said that he is against keeping individual local organisations alive by force as they strike him more as artificial attempts to cry over the loss of values and things that might not have even happened, as, in his opinion, much has been glorified since the end of the war[225]. Like other interviewees, he also mentioned the idea of Transylvanian-Saxons moving back to Transylvania, and said that this is a good idea for those who still consider themselves as Transylvanian-Saxons and are brave enough to return[226].

Mrs p said that her son had received all information about Transylvania, mainly family stories, from first generation relatives as she does not feel that there is anything that she can pass on to him or future generations. However, she recognises an importance in preserving history and culture and thinks that it would be sad if it were be lost or not be considered of interest anymore, and said that if there is something she could contribute to help this cause, she would be willing to do so.

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[223] He thinks that the situation is the same Austrian-wide and is particularly connected to working hours and too much variety in respect to leisure activities, particularly for those living in bigger towns or cities.
[224] She is also not sure whether she would make any financial contributions and said that she would have to consider the individual cause.
[225] He considers it more important to create a national organisation to not only hold events but also conserve historical facts and Transylvanian-Saxon culture, even though he thinks that it is dead already.
[226] He said that this would certainly be more beneficial for the Romanian state too, as there are many cases of Transylvanian-Saxons who had left but are now trying to extort restitution payments from Romania, in return for properties they had lost there.

Interestingly, the interviewees that could be judged as having the most extensive knowledge on Transylvania, in regard to history and experience of travelling there, are also the ones who seem the most reluctant in wanting to pass on information to future generations. Likewise, they are the most critical in regard to the future of the Siebenbürger Verein and clubs that preserve traditional dances, singing and music, and the idea of being Transylvanian-Saxon outside Transylvania. However, few of them mention having practised traditions themselves as children or were reluctant to associate themselves with the group, gaining their knowledge about Transylvania only at a later stage in their lives when researching their family history or identity. A few still mention traditions, usually related to Christmas or Easter, music or recipes that they are hoping to keep alive within their families, which seems to be generally more dependent on their own experiences as children. The most common way of passing on knowledge is through stories and anecdotes about the family, perhaps because every member of the second generation grew up with them. In most cases first generation relatives are/were still alive to also mention them to their grandchildren, and the second generation can build up on these stories by including their own views and memories, especially of life after the war. A few interviewees have travelled to Transylvania with their children, with others still planning to do so in the future. None of the interviewees mentioned any intentions of teaching a Transylvanian-Saxon dialect to their children or grandchildren, even though some of the second generation are still able to speak it, meaning that this will be most likely lost completely with perhaps a few exceptions or specific terms that will be used within individual families. This is not surprising, and given the fact that both the Austrian and Transylvanian-Saxon dialects are a form of German, it is understandable that the local terms that interviewees hear everyday are more likely to be used. However, while it was possible to detect an Austrian accent in all of the interviewees (apart in the case of the those living in Germany and the UK), there was little to no use of Austrian or local Salzburg dialect expressions or terms, with the interviewees talking a form of High German. This in return might be passed on to the third generation subconsciously, even though they are more likely to have one Austrian parent and therefore might also use Austrian dialect terms when communicating within the family.

While all of the interviewees would like to see information about Transylvanian-Saxon culture and history to be preserved to a certain extent, some are quite cynical about the value of keeping alive the local Siebenbürger Vereine, which are judged to be

anachronistic and not only appear to lack membership of younger people but also the first generation. The only chance for a future, according to a number of interviewees, would be the creation of a single national institution to organise bigger events that would attract more people and increase their appeal to a wider range of age groups. Again, it is those who are more involved with the Siebenbürger Verein, who are pessimistic or critical about its future, with non-members being more vague and often expressing the view that it is 'important' to preserve the culture and history of the Transylvanian-Saxons but then again less enthusiastic about the kind of contribution they would be willing to make to ensure their continued existence. It is also interesting, that a few interviewees mentioned that as they are non-members, they actually do not expect to be approached by the Siebenbürger Verein to be asked for any help or support, suggesting that the Verein itself has given up on the idea of actively recruiting new members or trying to keep up-dated about the number of people with Transylvanian-Saxon backgrounds that still live in the area.

I was surprised that a quarter of interviewees mentioned the idea of Transylvanian-Saxon families (though not themselves) moving back to Transylvania and trying to re-establish a community there, which seems a realistic prospect to them with an impending Romanian EU membership, and as they disagree with the concept that somebody could be described as Transylvanian-Saxon unless they actually live in Transylvania.

While the interviewees were generally unwilling or unable to predict a time-frame of how long they thought it would make sense to maintain the organisations within Salzburg and Austria in general, one promising aspect was the mention of an increased interest in one's family history with advanced age, suggesting that the demand for information of Transylvanian history, traditions and culture will not drastically end with the life of the first generation. Whether this will be sufficient to justify the maintenance of local organisations, whose aim it is to keep traditions actively alive, will remain to be seen. What is obvious though, is that some of the interviewees miss the "old" days, when there were still more people involved in the organisations and even non-members were motivated to attend through contacts with first generation relatives or friends, who were members themselves. Perhaps, if there were events arranged by a national organisation for a larger number of participants and programmes aimed at a wider range of audience, thus gaining wider publicity, it

would raise the enthusiasm of members and the interests of others[227]. Genealogy might also be an angle in which to attract new members, who in return for their enquiries could make financial contributions to help with the organisations' maintenance or perhaps increase the number of people willing to help out with tasks for events[228].

As only few Transylvanian-Saxon families who left Romania in the 1960/70s or after 1989, settled in Austria, the number of native Transylvanian members in local organisations within the next 15 years will be very low to non-existent. The organisations should therefore actively aim to find younger members, who will be able to talk to the first generation about topics that are relevant or interesting to them, rather than to rely on memoirs that might glorify or idealise Transylvanian-Saxon culture, as some interviewees have critically remarked. As has been seen, it is not the willingness of the interviewees to help out with the organisations' maintenance, it is the lack of asking and active encouragement to help by the organisations, which need to consider strategies for recruiting younger members rather than just the needs of the first generation unless they want to die with them.

[227] Furthermore, a change in activities might also have to be considered: younger generations might not be interested in taking up folk dancing and singing, and while they might enjoy the food, they might not want to learn how to prepare it themselves or undertake handicraft lessons; therefore projects aimed at younger generations involving travel, giving them the chance to learn about the history and culture of Transylvania whilst visiting the country, which could lead to charity and conservation projects could be considered.

[228] Therefore, it would be essential for the Siebenbürger Verein, local or national, to try to keep an overview of how many Transylvanian-Saxons of the first generation are still alive, and try to contact them, regardless of whether they are members or not and ask them for memories, copies of old diaries, photographs, etc. to help keep history alive, especially if they do not have the opportunity to pass them on to younger family members or think that they might not be interested.

4.0 Conclusion

While there are some trends noticeable within the four groups, the circumstances under which they grew up does not seem to be the main indicator for their attitudes towards identity: all the interviewees who were born in Transylvania have a solid knowledge about the country, its history and culture, though none of them are willing to say that they are entirely Transylvanian-Saxons (with the interviewee who'd spent the greatest part of his childhood in Transylvania of all three, choosing not to even mention Transylvania at all in respect to his identity, whilst the other two opting for an Austrian-Transylvanian description, or making it dependent on who is asking them), while other interviewees, who were born here say that they consider themselves more Transylvanian-Saxon than Austrian, or will always say that they are Austrian-Transylvanian, regardless, of who asks them.

Growing up inside a community does not mean that an interviewee was more likely to concern themselves with a Transylvanian identity. This was confirmed by the actions of one interviewee who having grown up outside a community and having stated that he has always felt Austrian, undertook the greatest number of journeys back to Transylvania in order to research his roots and is also the only one who married someone who had grown up in Transylvania. All the interviewees, except for one who grew up outside a settlement and spent most of her youth away from her parents, have got strong feelings attached to the Transylvanian-Saxon culture and their own identity, whether positive or negative, and I believe that it is possible to draw the conclusion that generally a feeling of Transylvanian-Saxon identity is clearly recognisable and proves the validity of the first hypothesis.

Of course, those who grew up within settlements attach their connections of Transylvanian-Saxon culture more to their experiences of communal life and the strong sense of unity and willingness to help others as a key feature, which is mentioned again and again as a Transylvanian-Saxon characteristic, and also the value that interviewees want to pass on to future generations. However, the actual cultivation of traditions seems to be more family-specific than dependent on where the interviewee grew up, although all of the interviewees originally from Sachsenheim could at least remember traditions the family had practised when they were younger, while none of those who had grown up outside of a development mentioned customs

being part of their family life at any stage. However, one needs to remember as well that traditions were often part of village and country-side communities and that the people chosen for this research were from completely different backgrounds, with the families of some of them originating from the cities. The parents of a couple of interviewees had not even spoken a Transylvanian-Saxon dialect whilst living in Transylvania and it would seem peculiar if they had started speaking one on their arrival in Austria, or suddenly practised traditions that they had not before. Instead of customs, the parents of such interviewees passed on information such as historical, architectural or geographical details, or even just their memories of growing up in a country with so many different ethnic groups.

One thing that puzzled me was the (almost) complete lack of mention of religion and church attendance by the interviewees, particularly since it was an issue so many of them mentioned in connection with their childhood memories. While all of the interviewees are Protestants, the majority are now married to Catholics, which could of course be a reason, but even the few who are married to fellow Protestants (whether from a Transylvanian-Saxon background or not), did not mention religion or church as something typical to the culture or as something that has a major part in their lives. None of them made any reference to whether they had decided to bring their children up as Protestants and only one interviewee mentioned the importance of Christian values within Transylvanian-Saxon Christmas traditions as something he would like to pass on to the following generations. This means that in terms of factors evident from the Transylvanian-Saxon identity described in the hypothesis, the sense of unity is clearly still present, as well as a strong interest in history, and there are also a number of traditions that are still practised, depending on family influences and partly location, of where the interviewees live today. However, as has been discussed above, religion seems to have lost its importance to the overall group, as was also found to be the case with the first generation.

One aspect I found intriguing was the fact that the interviewees without any first generation relatives still alive were more consistent in their attitudes of wanting to pass on information to the next generations and more likely on being members of the Siebenbürger Verein or any related organisation, whereas those whose parents or close relatives are still alive, are less pro-active in both respects, perhaps because they can rely more on the first generation to inform younger members of the family and be proactive with regards to events, traditions or even reading the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper, the standard response being "My parent(s)

subscribe to the paper, I can read their copy". While it is difficult to make a general prediction, it appears likely that some of the interviewees will be more pro-active in researching their family history as they might feel it will be their responsibility now in educating the younger generations about it.

The tendency of passivity is also reflected in the statements regarding the future and conservation of the Siebenbürger Verein and organisations concerned with Transylvanian-Saxon culture. None of the interviewees really would like the history of the group to be forgotten, with quite a few even stating that it would be very important to maintain the existence of these organisations or the prospect of them closing as very sad. However, the reactions are often different when asked whether they would be willing to participate in any way to guarantee to save them, with non-members saying that they would have to be approached first and might not contribute more than financially.

As I expected before undertaking the research, there is no consistent way in which interviewees describe themselves in regard to their identity or how their views on it have changed over the years. The fact that so many cannot say that they are just 'Austrian' is testament to the impact of growing up in a Transylvanian-Saxon family, and that those influences or contrasts to Austrian culture were strong enough to affect them up to this day. Like I anticipated from the research done by others on the subject, many admitted that the question of identity was a struggle for them, especially during their youth, as they wanted to be integrated and accepted by Austrian peers but also grew proud of the values and achievements they learned to associate with Transylvania.

Concluding from the overall impression I got from the interviews, I feel that there will be 'Transylvanian-Saxons' in Austria, even after the first generation has gone, and whether they will primarily describe themselves as Transylvanian-Saxons, Austro-Transylvanians, Transylvanian-Austrians or even Austrians, will be a less important detail.

Transylvanian-Saxon Identity among the third generation

1.0 Introduction

Whereas all of the first generation interviewees, and a few of the second generation, had still been born in Transylvania, all of the interviewees of the third generation were born and raised in Austria, and as will be discussed, only a small number have actually been to Transylvania, a stark contrast to the experiences of the second generation, who in many cases spent several weeks or even months during the summer and other holidays visiting their parents' old home and often relatives still living there.

This lack of personal experience or knowledge makes it tempting to conclude prematurely that there is little or no Transylvanian-Saxon identification within the third generation, the majority of whom have one parent of Transylvanian-Saxon and one of Austrian descent, with both parents generally having spent their youth and working life in Austria.

2.0 Previous Studies

There are few studies available that concern themselves with the identity of second, let alone third generation Transylvanian-Saxons in Austria.

Petri (2001) writes that he would like to invite the second and third generation to read his book about Transylvanian-Saxons in Austria, in order to "get to know their identity and to acknowledge their roots" (p. 9). This suggests that Petri thinks that identity is innate, rather than developed through a combination of shared and personal experiences, and that everyone who has Transylvanian-Saxon parents or grandparents also has a Transylvanian-Saxon identity. While this study will look at the views on the self-assessment of their identity of third generation Transylvanian-Saxon Austrians and does not want to presume them to have a Transylvanian-Saxon identity, it seems equally important to consider the potential elements that might be passed on to most or all of the third generation, and be displayed by them subconsciously or consciously, through opinions or attitudes.

In an interview with Scheuringer (2002), the former chairman of the Salzburg Siebenbürger Verein, Mr Daichendt said, that there is a lack of third generation Transylvanian-Saxons joining the dance groups, meaning that they have to accept Austrian members. Furthermore, he said that while they were still aware that their grandparents had originally come from Transylvania, they did not see this as something crucial to their own identity. He said: "Salzburg is their home, and while they know that we are not from here, I don't think they see themselves as something special... they are fully integrated here."

Younger people are mentioned in the regional Vereins-news or the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper, as part of bigger events, when they are performing as a dance or traditional music group within Austria. The Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper does have a section aimed at younger people but given the fact that hardly any of the second generation interviewees I spoke to subscribed to it, it is not likely that the any of third generation group I talked to are even aware of it, unless their grandparents had drawn their attention to any specific articles.

In general, it could be said that the studies concerning themselves with younger generations that I have found, seem to look more at the evidence or lack of it, of "outward signs" that denote Transylvanian-Saxonism, such as being able to speak the dialect, whether young people know Transylvanian-Saxon recipes, know traditional dances and pieces of music, follow traditions connected to certain holidays, or are Protestants. None of the studies I have come across, however, did actually ask the young people, whether they felt or even described themselves as Transylvanian-Saxons. Kroner (2001) only notes that the Transylvanian-Saxon settlements within Austria have partly lost their isolated character due to intermarriage with other emigrants or Austrians. Kroner (2001) also notes that among the reasons for the younger generations to move away and not live in the settlements might be marriage or relocation due to work. Kroner (2001) believes ambition and the wish of the Transylvanian-Saxon settlers to see their children do well in "responsible positions in business, politics, arts and church" (p. 63) led to the assimilation into the Austrian culture of the second and third generation. Petri (2001) writes that the new "Austrian Transylvanian-Saxon" identity can be seen through the children and grandchildren that were born here, which consists primarily of Austrian but also some Transylvanian-Saxon characteristics. Unfortunately, he does not go into more depth about this mixed identity experienced by the second and third generation, or describe what members of either group think about their identity. The conclusions seem to have been drawn from the findings that as less young people join the youth and dance groups and less young people attend church, this means less young identification with the Transylvanian-Saxons as a group. Writing about integration and assimilation, Petri (2001) argues that those Transylvanian-Saxons living in scattered or mixed neighbourhoods "let themselves be assimilated faster and gave up their identity in favour of the 'church of the majority' or the 'cheap alternative' of no religious confession" (p. 274). Furthermore, he points out that once the integration had been successfully completed and there was evidence of material gains and comfort, the Transylvanian-Saxons started to lose interest in community life, and the number of church attendees fell, affecting the identity of the following generations. Petri (2001) writes: "The television sets edged out the community evenings, and a generation grew up that no longer wanted to be approached about their descent" (p. 274).

Petri (2001) also comments on the lack of members within the Austrian Transylvanian-Saxon Landsmannschaft. Even though he estimates the number of people with a Transylvanian-Saxon connection in Austria to be about 40,000, the

Landsmannschaft has only around 1,700 members, less than 5 per cent. He suspects the reasons for this diminished interest can be found within society trends, such as only-child families, single mothers and singledom, which all divert from the giant families and communities of old. Furthermore, he blames materialistic tendencies that prevent people from volunteering their home for sleeping purposes to fellow members during club excursions or offering other services without expecting anything in return.

He also believes the trend towards globalisation to be another reason that stops younger people from concerning themselves with their history: "The problem of coming to terms with history" (p. 310) has led to ethnicity and cultural individuality to be often confused with nationalist or fascist ideologies.

However, Petri (2001) also believes that there is a future for the Austrian Transylvanian-Saxons, but that it is necessary to realise that they have a different starting point, sense of experience and self-image. He believes that the young generation needs to be "picked up from where it is" (p. 314) and be motivated towards "a positive attitude for our cause" (p. 314). Petri (2001) argues that an appeal to young peoples' idealism might encourage their participation in relief campaigns to Transylvania.

However, little or no mention is made of general trends and interests of young people, and whether this might be a contributing factor to their attitudes. Therefore, there is little or no information regarding the "Austrian" traditions, members of the third generation might follow. Generally, it is concluded that they are integrated and that the "only sign of Transylvanian-Saxon descent is their religious affiliation" (Kirschlager, 1988, p. 38). These findings do not seem particularly surprising, in fact it would seem peculiar if an immediate distinction could be made between a third, or even second generation Transylvanian-Saxon and an Austrian: there are no physical Transylvanian-Saxon traits that could make somebody stand out as of Transylvanian-Saxon descent, such as darker or lighter skin tones. There are still a number of third generation members who have traditional Transylvanian-Saxon costumes, although of course, they would not wear such an outfit for every day activities and they certainly do not differ in that respect from most young Austrians who will readily choose modern high street clothes over a traditional "dirndl" or "lederhosen", whether it was especially made for them or passed down through the generations.

2.1 Church and possible reasons for decline of interest

When Sutter visited the Protestant church of Sachsenheim in 1997, she was shocked to discover that she was the youngest visitor to attend mass, especially after a development in 1981 which meant that they now had their own pastor, a Transylvanian-Saxon, looking after the parish. Sutter (1997) now questions whether this is a common situation for other parishes in Austria or Germany too, or whether her experience (she highlights the fact that she attended mass during school term time) was unusual. When talking to the pastor, she was told that despite the fact that the community had campaigned for years to have their own pastor, the number of attendees had declined[229]. Sutter (1997) argues that the lack of young people at Church can be explained through the fact that many attend schools, and therefore have friends, in the city and would also be likely to choose to follow religious traditions, such as confirmation, at a city church together with their peers, rather than at their "home" church in Sachsenheim. Like many other European countries, religious identification and church attendance in Austria, has experienced a decline over the past few decades. Whereas it seems surprising that the Transylvanian-Saxons, having so strongly identified themselves with religion, should now be affected so immensely by a lack of interest in religion in general, and more specifically, in attending services. One has to look at other contributing factors; the intermarriage between Transylvanian-Saxons and Austrians led to a number of children being raised as Catholics. Whereas some parents might have hoped for possible advantages concerning education (the high number of Catholics in Salzburg and, generally, Austria, means that many private schools are run by the Catholic Church), there is also evidence that church weddings between Catholics and Protestants were only granted on the basis that any children born within these marriages had to be raised as Catholics[230].

[229] However, she points out that one of the reasons for the low attendance record might be related to the discovery that despite Sachsenheim being the seat of the parish, "their" pastor also had to look after communities within the area of Nördlicher Flachgau, and therefore could not care for the Transylvanian-Saxon community exclusively. Furthermore, the other areas accused the pastor of giving preferential treatment to the community in Sachsenheim

[230] Of course, the Protestant parents might have tried to educate their children about aspects of Protestant belief or encouraged them to join them for a Protestant Sunday Service but if the children attend a kindergarten or primary school which is also linked to a local church, a lot of expectations for the children, and ideally, their parents will be put across from the side of the educational institution, coupled with related events, such as school parties linked to religious events (e.g. St. Martin's day in November, Easter or Whitsun in late spring) would mean that families would be more or less automatically "pushed" into one religious direction, without any allowances made towards families with parents from different religious backgrounds.

Whereas Sachsenheim, as a closed community has had a Protestant church of their own for many years, the mixed settlements of Gneis and Eichethof have only had a Protestant Church in their neighbourhood for a few years and nearly 50 years after the first refugees moved in. Whereas this community held some religious events and services in a hall within the area, their nearest Protestant Church was in the city of Salzburg, some 20 minutes away on the bus.

Even though the Gneis community that had originally consisted of settlers from Transylvania, Banat and the Sudeten area, as well as Austrians, has changed significantly with of many of the original owners having passed away and their properties being sold on rather than becoming their children's home, Vicar Faugel of the newly-built church, believes that as many as 80 per cent of the regular service attendees are former settlers and their descendants. He concedes that it seems puzzling that this church was not built years ago[231]. On an average Sunday, 70 to 100 people attend the service, and the church has a capacity of 125. Even though the seating facilities can be extended to accommodate about 200 people, according to Faugel, the church was built based on the size of the existing community, which seems peculiar, given the average age of its attendees. Given the fact that the majority of original settlers are at least 70 years of age, the church will have to expect a severe loss of its members in the next 10-15 years.

[231] However, he believes that since the church was built a lot of people who had initially attended the Church of Christ in the city centre, but had then been put off by lack of parking facilities and inconvenient public transport timetables on a Sunday, had now become regulars at the new church Salzburg-Süd.

3.0 Evaluation of Findings

Like in the previous chapters, each sub-section (question) will in turn be divided geographically, to indicate the interviewees' background and allow for analysis of these factors at a later stage: while the majority (10) of the interviewees grew up in the Gneis or Eichethof settlement, two smaller groups (4) grew up either outside a Transylvanian-Saxon settlement or in the closed settlement of Sachsenheim[232].

[232] Two of the interviewees that are being counted in the Elixhausen group, actually live in the city of Salzburg but as all of their Transylvanian-Saxon relatives in Salzburg still live there, and they have paid regular visits to the settlement throughout their youth, I decided that their identity influences would have mainly come from there.

3.1 Knowledge about Transylvanian-Saxon History and Culture

I asked this question in order to find out, whether the interviewees had been made consciously aware of their Transylvanian-Saxon identity at a specific time, or whether they feel that it has always been part of their lives. Furthermore, I wanted to find out whether it was one person in particular that would provide the interviewee with information, or whether this had come from a number of relatives or friends. As I presumed that it would mainly be through first generation relatives, that younger people would be told about their background, it was furthermore of interest to find out whether a third generation interviewee without any living first-generation members has access to information.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Interviewee ff told me that it has mainly been her grandmother who has spoken to her about her Transylvanian-Saxon family background, but she cannot remember when she was made aware of this aspect of her identity. To her, it feels that it has always been a part of her life. Regarding the information she received, she said that it has predominantly been stories about her grandmother's youth and her family, as well the severe material losses that they had experienced in the aftermath of the war.

Her sister gg also mentioned her mother, in addition to her grandmother as her sources of information on Transylvania. She also received a strong impression of her family's wealth and privilege in her grandmother's stories, and that the population there was, and is, very multi-ethnic.

Their brother, hh mirrored his sisters' assessment in terms of source, and information received, but felt that the stories of his grandmother's youth and her family's situation are exaggerated, as she looks back at it in an idealised way.

The next interviewee, ii, was told about Transylvania and especially her father's life there (as he died at a young age), by a number of people such as her grandparents, aunt and uncle, although they have since died as well. She mainly remembers being told about the evacuation of North Transylvania and also her family's life when they still lived there.

Interviewee pp's first generation relatives in Salzburg (her grandparents) both died before she was born, so she has mainly learnt about Transylvania from her mother, who not only told her about the circumstances that brought her family to Austria but also about her own experiences of travelling to Transylvania. Furthermore, pp is a member of the Transylvanian-Saxon dancing group and has gained further insights, particularly about the current situation in Transylvania from her involvement with it. Like another interviewee before her, she said that she has always been conscious of her Transylvanian-Saxon family background as this would have been difficult to avoid in the settlement she grew up in, Gneis.

Her brother, ll, confirms that it was mainly his mother, who informed him about his grandparents' fate of losing their home, his grandmother's time in a prisoner of war camp and how they had built up a new existence for themselves after the war.

The next interviewee, jj, spent a lot of time at her grandparents' when she was very young and also stated that she just "grew up with it". As her grandparents still speak in Transylvanian-Saxon dialect to each other, she was able to understand it better than any of the other grandchildren, due to the amount of time she spent with them and was also given a range of Transylvanian-Saxon dishes to eat. Although she thinks that nobody in particular pointed out to her that her grandparents are not Austrians, she knew this from an early age anyway.

Interviewee qq said that his grandparents and father were his initial sources on their life as Transylvanian-Saxon farmers, the multi-ethnic society of Transylvania, as well as his family's experiences during the First and Second-World War. As the interviewee is now the chairman of the Siebenbürger Verein in Salzburg, he is perhaps the person with the most first generation contacts outside his own family of all the third generation members I talked to.

His wife, rr who runs the traditional dancing classes for young people, told me that in her case, it was her parents and grandparents, who not only told her about the family background and history, but also about everyday life in Transylvania and some of the customs.

The last interviewee in this category, oo, also spent a lot of time with his grandparents when he was growing up, but in addition to this he also received information from his mother, aunt and uncle. Apart from talking about traditions and

the family history, his grandmother taught him some Transylvanian-Saxon songs, that even his mother did not learn when she younger.

Grown up outside of a community

The first interviewee in this category, ee, said that while her mother had told her and her brothers a lot about Transylvania and that they had this identity, it was obvious that her grandmother's German was different from the one she was used to, which added to her sense of awareness.

Her brother, dd said both his mother and grandmother instilled a pride in his Transylvanian-Saxon identity in him from an early age, despite the fact that it sometimes felt exaggerated. Generally, his grandmother has told him more about the times of her youth, while his mother has contrasted this with stories of the post-war and Communist times in Romania, and the effect it has had on the Transylvanian-Saxons living there. dd also feels that he has been informed about the Transylvanian-Saxon character, which he described as being "very decent and hard-working, determined, honest and good people, who are rooted to their own soil".

Their brother cc said that since he does not live in the same town as his grandmother, he received most information from his mother initially, and then often confirmed this with his grandmother when he had the opportunity. He said that in both cases the stories were very emotionally-nostalgically charged, with accounts of the family's losses, and how sad the current situation in Transylvania is.

The last interviewee, who grew up outside a settlement, ll, said his grandparents have both told him about life in Transylvania, although his grandfather has also spoken to him about the war and being in captivity in relation as to how he got to Austria.

Sachsenheim settlement

The first interviewee, aa, had several people in her direct family who could tell her about Transylvania: both her parents are from Transylvanian-Saxon families, meaning that all her grandparents were born in Transylvania. Growing up in Sachsenheim, she was also in constant contact with other children of similar backgrounds and their families.

Her brother, bb, added that their aunt and uncle, who shared their home with them, were further sources of information on the family history and Transylvanian-Saxon culture. Personally, he was particularly fascinated by his grandfathers' stories about the war and the evacuation.

Then next interviewee, mm, noticed the many maps and pictures in her parents' house and experienced the culture itself during visits to her grandparents and her father's relatives in Sachsenheim.

Her brother, nn, also spoke of the regular family meals at his grandmother's; what he particularly noticed there was his father and uncle talking in a different dialect to his grandmother. Like his sister, he studied the maps that are hanging on the walls of his parents' and grandmother's house and asked questions on the aspects of the culture and family life that interested him.

Although only few of the interviewees had been to Transylvania themselves, most of them talked about geographical aspects such as the beauty of the Carpathian Mountains or the good conditions for viniculture. All of them knew which towns and villages their families originated from but they did not necessarily differentiate between South and North Transylvania. Whereas all of them knew that Transylvania is part of Romania, nobody mentioned it ever being part of Hungary or Austria, although some mentioned the Hungarians as a third co-habiting ethnic group. It was interesting to notice, that quite a few of the interviewees believed that Transylvania had stopped to exist after becoming part of Romania and seemed to think that Transylvania had only become a part of Romania after the Second-World War, under the Communist regime[233].

The male interviewees in particular, when asked about their family, talked about the military service their grandfathers or other male relatives had undertaken during the Second-World War. Those with North Transylvanian-Saxon relatives talked about the treks and the related difficulties they experienced on their way to Austria. For others, the question gave them the opportunity to talk about their family's former wealth and privileged status, referring to Transylvania as a "land of milk and honey" and spoke of

[233] This could indicate that their image of Transylvania is of a privileged German population living there before the Second-World-War who employed Hungarians and Romanians for servant-style positions but since becoming part of Romania, the Germans had lost their status, therefore signalling the "end" of Transylvania.

their grandparents' university and boarding school education in Germany or Austria. Some admitted that the topic of Transylvania and how much the family had lost as a result of the war, was a very emotional subject, not only to their first generation but often also to their second generation relatives. While acknowledging or judging their elder relatives' stories and accounts to be sometimes "over-the-top", "seen through rose-tinted glasses" or in some cases simply doubting them to be true, the interviewees were able to talk about their family's positions (engineer, bank director, solicitor, doctors...) and of properties and valuables the family had lost as a result of the Communist regime (gold coins, jewellery).

3.2 Contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons of similar age group

While the first question showed that most of the interviewees have had and still have fairly regular contact with the Transylvanian-Saxon members of their family, I was interested to find out whether they had stayed friends with people of Transylvanian-Saxon descent of their own age, and whether their common descent was ever the topic of any of their conversations. While I expected the interviewees from Gneis and Sachsenheim to have met and perhaps stayed in contact with people from their childhood, I thought this was going to be less likely for those who had not grown up in a settlement.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Interviewee ff counts two people of Transylvanian-Saxon descent amongst her closest friends: one is her neighbour from the settlement she grew up in, whom she has known all her life, but also discovered that the other, who she only met a few years ago, has Transylvanian-Saxon grandparents. While they are not discussing their origin or the current situation in Transylvania every time they meet, they have spoken about the places their grandparents are from, dishes they know and ff was shown pictures of her friend's trip to Transylvania.

Her sister said that she is also in contact with these two friends, but additionally found out that one of her classmates at school has Transylvanian-Saxon roots. She said that while she does not necessarily talk about Transylvania with them, she is pleased, when she discovers that somebody similar roots, as they will know about certain foods and understand Transylvanian-Saxon dialect terms.

Their brother said while he is aware of some of their neighbours being of Transylvanian-Saxon descent, he does not talk to them about Transylvania at all.

Interviewee ii said that thanks to growing up in the Gneis settlement, she knows several people her age there, who have Transylvanian-Saxon roots but she is not necessarily in close contact with them. She also made a friend of Transylvanian-Saxon descent, at university and while they attended a ball organised by the Transylvanian-Saxon Landsmannschaft together once, she feels the topic of Transylvania hardly ever enters their discussions.

Interviewee pp, through joining the dancing group, knows quite a few other third generation Transylvanian-Saxons, although, at 27, she is one of the youngest members as the majority tend to be about ten years older than her.

Her brother said that he never generally tends to discuss a person's ethnic descent or background, as he does not particularly care about such aspects, and while he might know people who are also Transylvanian-Saxons, he is not particularly aware of it.

Interviewee jj said that she does not know any other Transylvanian-Saxon third generation members apart from relatives.

Since interviewee qq has been involved with the Siebenbürger Verein, as well as the dancing group from an early age, he has gotten to know a large number of people, who also have Transylvanian-Saxon grandparents, over the years. He told me that apart from traditions and customs, he also discusses the political situation with people of his generation, especially since he has taken part in a number of trips to Romania himself. In regards to the dialect, he said that while he understands it, and believes that most third generation members will know some particularly funny or curious figures of speech, difficulties in mastering the correct pronunciation and respect for the older generations, prevents most younger people from having proper conversations in the dialect with their grandparents.

His wife added that she also discusses recipes and dishes with people her own age but also mentioned customs, political situation in Romania and the future perspectives of the Transylvanian-Saxons.

Interviewee oo still knows of others of similar background and age but since moving away from Salzburg has lost touch with them.

Grown up outside a community

Interviewee ee said that while she only knows Transylvanian-Saxon relatives in her own age group, she generally likes meeting people of a similar descent: while travelling, she once heard two people talk in a Transylvanian-Saxon dialect and started speaking to them about their background.

Both her brothers said that outside the extended family, they did not know any Transylvanian-Saxons of any generation.

The last interviewee in this group, kk, met people of Transylvanian-Saxon descent and of his own age from all over the world a few years ago, when he attended a 2-week camp in Canada. While initially there were efforts to stay in contact with those geographically close to him after the event had ended, this has almost stopped completely now.

Sachsenheim settlement

Interviewee aa discovered, by chance, that her husband had some Transylvanian-Saxon relatives but unlike herself, he was not given a lot of information about his family background, and they hardly ever speak about Transylvania now. There are other third generation Transylvanian-Saxons she knows but does not make their descent a topic of their conversations.

Her brother has lost contact with most of the third generation since he is no longer part of the marching band and moved away from Sachsenheim. However, he recently met some people of similar background through his work and says: "You can feel this togetherness when you meet somebody of Transylvanian-Saxon descent, you talk about it straight away, and you are accepted immediately".

Interviewee mm said that five of her classmates and three of her teachers have Transylvanian-Saxon roots. They discovered this when one started talking about Transylvania, and the others mentioned that their grandparents also originated from there. However, she thinks that people of her own age do not know anything else about Transylvania apart from that their grandparents and ancestors had lived there.

Her brother has had similar experiences at his own school and within his circle of friends, and said that when he mentioned Transylvania, he found that there are quite a number of people in Salzburg whose parents are second generation members. While he tries to exchange information about their common background with them, he has discovered time and again that they tended to be less interest in the subject than he himself.

It was interesting to hear that the majority of interviewees are still in contact or know of other young people in their age group that are also of Transylvanian-Saxon descent, especially since this meant contacts outside their family. Although those friendships were often pre-conditioned by geographical factors, such as living in the same area or settlement, or the parents and grandparents being friends, there were also quite a few chance encounters: some reported discovering that one or more of their classmates at secondary school (which is therefore not strictly dependent on vicinity) also had Transylvanian-Saxon roots.

3.3 Knowledge of differences between Austrian and Transylvanian-Saxon culture

By asking this question, I hoped to find out whether the interviewees had been given any information by their older relatives or friends about specific traditions, meals or other aspects of culture, and whether they had been made aware that these were specifically Transylvanian-Saxon. I anticipated that the interviewees would mention religion and dialects as the main distinctions.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

Interviewee ff identified both the fact that most Transylvanian-Saxons are Protestants as well as the regional dialects as characteristics that she had noticed. However, she said that she does not know of any specific traditions or customs.

Her sister pointed out that there might be differences in mentality, such as general attitude towards life but believes that the more Eastern or Balkan influences in Transylvanian-Saxon identity are also mirrored in some parts of Austria. Therefore, to her, religion is the key difference, and while she believes that some of the Transylvanian-Saxon dishes that her grandmother has told her about sound richer than what she is used to today, this might be a reflection of modern changes rather than a cultural difference.

Their brother also mentioned the dialect, but also traditional outfits and the dish 'polenta'. However, while this might be associated with Transylvanian-Saxon culture, he pointed out that it is also part of the Austrian cuisine.

Interviewee ii said that when her first generation relatives were still alive, she particularly noticed the dialect and can still recognise it today. However, she was not really taught or advised of any specific traditions.

Interviewee pp believes that there are a lot of similarities between Austrian and Transylvanian-Saxon culture, but highlighted some Christmas biscuits and cakes as being unique to Transylvania. Furthermore, she pointed out the traditional outfits and costumes that are not only very colourful but also incorporate a lot of handicrafts and skills, such as cross-stitching details. She believes that religion has lost its distinction, as so many younger generations are no longer brought up as Protestants.

In contrast to that, her brother named religion as the main cultural distinction between Transylvanian-Saxons and Austrians.

Interviewee jj remarked on the traditional outfits but thinks that there are no real differences in any other cultural aspects between the two groups.

Interviewee qq remarked on the differences between Austrian and Transylvanian-Saxon culture: "The Transylvanian-Saxons had a Central-European culture in South-East Europe. In their historic development, the exposure to these surroundings led to more intense and sometimes earlier development in some cultural aspects, such as schooling and humanism". The interviewee added that he felt that religious traditions and beliefs were still more prominent among Transylvanian-Saxons than Austrians.

His wife also highlighted the religious differences of the Austrians being Catholic and the Transylvanian-Saxons being Protestants, which can lead to different traditions and holidays during the year. Furthermore, she believes that living with other ethnic groups has also strongly influenced the Transylvanian-Saxons' culture.

Interviewee oo mentioned religion, dialect, songs and outfits as the main distinctions of Transylvanian-Saxon culture that he had noticed over the years.

Grown up outside a community

The first interviewee mainly mentioned the different dishes that her mother and grandmother had cooked for special occasions, but was not sure whether some of them were Hungarian rather than Transylvanian-Saxon. She also mentioned gingerbread biscuits which her grandmother had decorated with a special pattern and which the family display over Christmas. Generally, she said that it is hard for her to recognise distinctions in culture as she has mainly encountered other Transylvanian-Saxons at family gatherings, which might not reflect every-day life and culture.

Her brother dd pointed out the dialect as key feature and said that he thinks that some of the older Transylvanian-Saxons might try to over-emphasise it by putting on a stronger accent than necessary. He also spoke of cultural characteristics such as warmth, togetherness and cosiness that he feels specifically apply to the Transylvanian-Saxons. Compared to the Austrians, which he thinks can be very short-tempered and grumpy at times, he also feels that the older generations of

Transylvanian-Saxons show an honest interest in younger people and are very open and tolerant towards their beliefs, which he feels is not the case with older Austrians.

Their brother, cc, was also confident enough to make specific cultural distinctions, arguing that compared to the Austrians, the Transylvanian-Saxons tend to be not only more honest and direct but also friendlier. He also said "The Transylvanian-Saxons seem to have been able to take a lot". He was also aware of the fact that Protestantism is connected to Transylvanian-Saxon culture but did not seem to be aware to which extent, or how important religion had been to the Transylvanian-Saxons in history. He also spoke about the dialects as a way of distinction, but believes that Austrian as well Transylvanian-Saxon cuisine seem to share similarities particularly in terms of richness of the dishes.

The last interviewee in this group told me that while he believes the Transylvanian-Saxons to be very traditional, he could only mention costumes and dances as a distinguishing feature of their culture. He said that he had not noticed any particular distinctions in terms of religion between Austrians and Transylvanian-Saxons.

Sachsenheim settlement

The first interviewee believes that her family's sense of togetherness is something distinctively Transylvanian-Saxon. She also added that her mother still cooks Transylvanian-Saxon dishes on a regular basis, and she hopes that she too will be taught to prepare them one day.

Her brother added that the sense of togetherness mentioned by his sister extended to the whole community and that he thinks the Transylvanian-Saxons all tend to be very hard-working people. As a former member of the marching band, he was often asked about his "beautiful traditional costume" by Austrians at events where they performed.

Interviewee mm thinks there are some traditions that might be different but believes that generally there are no big distinctions between Austrian and Transylvanian-Saxon culture. The main difference she has noticed is the strong dialect.

Her brother on the other hand, said that he has very fond memories of "going sprinkling" with his brother and cousin for many years in Sachsenheim, on Easter Monday. He said to him, it was the best day of the year and that this is the tradition

he feels he knows best. Furthermore, his grandmother cooks Transylvanian-Saxon dishes on a regular basis, and he has requested that she cooks his favourite Transylvanian-Saxon dish on his birthday for him for many years now.

Considering the enormous importance religion once played in the Transylvanian-Saxon community, I was extremely surprised that only a couple of interviewees mentioned it without being prompted. I had believed that the question concerning differences between Transylvanian-Saxons and Austrians would lend itself to that answer, and that perhaps the most obvious difference that a third generation member would have noticed beside the dialect would be the religious aspect. When asked outright, most interviewees knew about the Protestant confession of the Transylvanian-Saxons, even though reactions and answers included: "I don't think they are very concerned with religion, like they are, for example in Austria. It's because of Protestantism, they were all Protestants, weren't they", "most people from Transylvania are Protestants" or "I don't think there is anything worth mentioning in connection with Transylvanian-Saxons and religion". These statements would have perhaps not been so surprising had the entire group been raised as Catholics. However, half of them had been raised as Protestants, which would have made the interviewees a minority at school[234]. However, there might be an explanation for this seeming lack of interest or knowledge: the great majority of young people I spoke to, had already left school, and were either at university or in employment, where confession does not affect one's daily life. Given the general tendency of fewer and fewer young people attending church services or seeing religion as important at this stage, it has become a personal matter[235] to concern oneself with religion and go to church. While most or all of the third generation interviewees therefore were at least made aware of the reason why one or both of their parents are Protestants (or indeed, why they are themselves), this might have last concerned them when they were teenagers and perhaps received confirmation lessons.

[234] Given the fact that only ten per cent of the Austrian population is Protestant and religion still is an important part of primary and secondary education in Austria, a child would notice rather quickly that they were different from their classmates, as they would receive religious education classes separately and the Protestants tend to make up a small minority. It would then seem reasonable to argue that the child would seek to find out why he/she has to attend a different class from their friends, and why he/she is a Protestant. It seems hard to imagine that the parents would not mention the strong Protestant belief of the Transylvanian-Saxons when answering the question.

[235] Of course, you can opt out of religious education but it is compulsory to attend for eight years, to the age of 14.

Maybe in line with these findings could be the fact that none of the third generation interviewees mentioned celebrating their name day, a Transylvanian-Saxon tradition that was even deemed more important than a person's birthday[236]. However, again, the fact that name days were not mentioned outright by the interviewees does not mean that they did not celebrate it within the family. Perhaps they had celebrated them whilst living with their parents (the majority are no longer living at home) or they had never viewed the tradition as something particularly Transylvanian-Saxon, as name day is also celebrated by Catholics.

The question of Transylvanian-Saxon traditions being practised in the family produced mixed reactions. As with religion, some of the interviewees believed there were no remarkable Transylvanian-Saxon traditions that differ strongly from any Austrian traditions around the year. One interviewee said that he and other male relatives followed the tradition of "sprinkling" for several years when they were younger on Easter Monday. He described it as "the best day of the year". Another interviewee had been part of the Transylvanian Saxon brass band until recently, and therefore is familiar with traditional Transylvanian-Saxon music, while further interviewees are part of the dancing group. The female interviewees are able to cook a few Transylvanian-Saxon recipes, which they had mostly been taught by their grandmothers and mothers[237]. While the members of the dancing group and some of the interviewees who have been taught recipes were originally from the Gneis or Eichethof settlement, the others who grew up still actively practising tradition were all connected with Sachsenheim[238].

The question whether the interviewee had noticed any difference between Transylvanian-Saxon and Austrian culture led mainly to answers concerning dialect, food and national costume, although in quite a few of the responses the interviewees had tried to give a differentiation between typical Austrian and Transylvanian-Saxon behaviour and character. These observations might have come from family gatherings or other Transylvanian-Saxon events, which most interviewees said that they had at least attended once. Overall, none of the interviewees mentioned any negative Transylvanian-Saxon characteristics while readily criticising Austrian

[236] This tradition is not part of Protestantism, which means it is really unusual for a non-Catholic group to pay so much attention to it.
[237] Most commonly mentioned were polenta, Krautwickel (a cabbage dish), Transylvanian sausages and Pfefferkrautsuppe (cabbage soup).
[238] This means that, while in Gneis it depends more on the individual family to pass on and practise traditions with the younger generations, in Elixhausen this has been, at least in the case of the third generation, still a standard procedure across the whole community.

tendencies. It is obvious that regardless of growing up in a community with several other Transylvanian-Saxon families, which the majority of the interviewees did, they still would have come into and been in contact with far more Austrians, which of course, makes it easier for more critical comments to be passed. However, this does not mean that their positive assessment of the Transylvanian-Saxon character is untrue[239].

[239] When talking about their first generation relatives' stories, most of the interviewees at least expressed the belief that they might be exaggerated or presented too positively, down to outright disbelief of some of those stories actually being true. So I don't think that the interviewees were simply listing positive Transylvanian-Saxon characteristics that they had been told about but had not seen confirmed themselves.

3.4 Knowledge of Transylvanian history and reasons for evacuation/settlement in Austria

This question is a further way of assessing what kind of information has been passed on to the younger generations. While I did not expect the interviewees' knowledge of history in Transylvania to exceed their grandparents' youth, I thought that most would be aware of their families' circumstances in the years after the war and also the reasons behind them for having to leave Transylvania.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

The first interviewee said that she believes that the Transylvanian-Saxons were German settlers, who came to live in (today's) Romania, but were discriminated against due to their involvement in the Second-World War, which meant that many went back to their country of origin, Germany. Before the war, she believes that the Transylvanian-Saxons as a group were of a higher status than the two other ethnic groups she knows of also living in Transylvania, Romanians and Gypsies.

Her sister gave Communism as a reason for many Transylvanian-Saxons settling in Germany or Austria. The only thing that she said she knows about their life in Transylvania is that they had a long shared history.

Their brother also named the Second-World War and Communism as reasons for Transylvanian-Saxons settling in Germany and Austria. He knew a number of facts about Transylvanian-Saxon history before the war: he mentioned that there was no system of serfdom and compared their villages and cities to a 'German enclave'. Furthermore, he named the cohabiting ethnic groups as Hungarians, Romanians and Gypsies, and pointed out that generally there were hardly any cases of intermarriage between them.

Interviewee ii told me that, in fact, the tendency of the Transylvanian-Saxons to only marry within their own ethnic group is the only historic aspect she really knows, as her grandmother often mentioned it with pride. However, she does not know the reasons that forced so many to leave their home and come to Austria.

In contrast, interviewee pp thinks that she is very well informed about many aspects of Transylvanian-Saxon history, particularly about the evacuation of North Transylvania. She also said that with every anniversary celebrated (such as sixty years' evacuation, for example), she learns about new aspects and individual stories. When she went to Transylvania last year, she was also given a good overview of Transylvanian-Saxon history before 1945 as she visited a number of old cities and villages.

Her brother said that he does not know a lot about life in Transylvania before the Second-World War, apart from that there were many vineyards that were later destroyed by the Communists, who built factories in the area. He also said that Communism was the initiator for Transylvanian-Saxons to leave their home.

Interviewee jj said that she just knows that her grandmother was evacuated from Transylvania but said that the reasons surrounding this were never really discussed in her family.

Interviewee qq is very well informed about the reasons that led the Transylvanian-Saxons to leave their home: "The first influx of Transylvanian-Saxons to Austria and Germany, was a result of the turmoil of the Second-World War. North Transylvania belonged to Hungary. The retreating German army units encouraged the German population – sometimes with force – to vacate their homes, as it would become a theatre of war. As history has shown, the majority of them did not return. The communists in power dispossessed those Transylvanian-Saxons who had remained and deported them to forced labour camps in Russia". The interviewee also mentioned that after the war, Transylvanian-Saxons left in order to be reunited with their family, or that in some cases, the German State paid a ransom to the Romanian State to enable others to leave Transylvania. He added that following the 1989 revolution, a mass emigration took place, which nearly put an end to Transylvanian-Saxon culture in Romania.

His wife mentioned similar details but also highlighted the fact that in some cases, those who had remained in Transylvania were receiving a wrong image of what life would be like in Germany from other settlers.

The last interviewee from the Gneis/Eichethof settlement mentioned that the 'big trek' saw a substantial number leave Transylvania but also pointed out that the fall of the

Iron Curtain encouraged a further influx of Transylvanian-Saxons into Austria and Germany.

Grown up outside a settlement

The first interviewee said that she only knows that the Transylvanian-Saxons were a German ethnic minority in Romania, and that their German association has made them unpopular there. Regarding life before the Second-World War, she said that she was not sure whether the details she knows, apply to her family only or were more common occurrences; that the Transylvanian-Saxons were traditionally-minded and family-focused and that the majority of them studied outside Transylvania.

Her brother told me that he feels he is not particularly well informed about Transylvanian-Saxon history, but said about the situation in Transylvania today and the reasons why people would be motivated to leave: "They had the feeling that their old home is being overrun by Romanians and Gypsies and that there is no chance to return to what it was like before, and that culture and traditions are being lost as a result".

Their brother believes that in terms of their status before the war, the Transylvanian-Saxons were a privileged minority consisting of many academics. He thinks that the other ethnic groups turned against them because of their success and competence. Furthermore he mentioned that Ceausescu obviously hated their traditions and culture, leading him to eradicate whole villages.

The last interviewee said that he does not really know any historic details or why the Transylvanian-Saxons left their home. He said that thinks he knows how Transylvania received its German name, but is not entirely sure about this, either.

Sachsenheim settlement

The first interviewee mentioned that her grandmother has told her about the evacuation on a number of occasions but she herself cannot remember specific details. She also said that she knows nothing about life in Transylvania before the Second-World War.

Her brother said that while his grandfather had spoken to him about his childhood in Transylvania and how they were evacuated, he felt the reasons behind their settlement in Austria were never properly explained to him.

Interviewee mm feels she knows more about the Transylvanian-Saxons' life before the war, than about the reasons why they had to leave. She said she thinks that they had to go because of political changes that meant that they were no longer wanted in the country because they were Germans. However, she is generally more interested in human aspects and prefers the stories her grandmother has told her about her childhood in Transylvania.

Her brother said that he knew that his grandparents were wealthy farmers before the war and that they employed mainly Romanians as their workers. He also knew that the evacuation took place as a consequence of Romania ending their allegiance with Germany. He believes that the Transylvanian-Saxons came to Austria and Germany mainly because they felt a cultural association with both countries.

3.5 Travel to Transylvania

I asked this question in order to get an indication of how many of the youngest interviewees had actually travelled to Transylvania (Figure 17), and what their experiences of the country had been. I also enquired of those, who had not been there yet, whether they would be generally interested in ever going and what places they would like to visit.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

The first interviewee has never been to Transylvania herself but would be very interested in going there in order to visit her grandparents' birthplaces. She also mentioned that one of her friends expressed an interest to come with her because she is fascinated by the vampire stories, although the interviewee has told her that much of this is unrelated to the real Transylvania.

Her sister would also like to specifically visit towns and villages associated with her family's history but would like to experience as much of the rest of the country as possible.

Their brother on the other hand, is only planning to see the places where his ancestors lived. He is due to go to Transylvania for the first time together with some relatives.

Interviewee ii told me that she had often spoken about travelling to Transylvania together with her uncle but never managed to do so before his death. While she would still be interested in going there one day, she does not really know how to prepare such a trip or with whom she would go.

Interviewee pp went to Transylvania for the first time a year ago, with members of her dancing group in order to take aid to different towns. This meant she was able to see some of the places her family originated from and even visit a relative who still lives there. During their stay they were also invited to a confirmation, where some of the girls wore traditional outfits, something that is only slowly coming back in Transylvania itself. While the interviewee was impressed by the beauty of the old

towns and villages, she said it was sad to get the feeling that the local population does not seem to be aware of their historic significance anymore.

Figure 16 Third generation Transylvanian-Saxons planning a trip to Transylvania

Her brother said that he has never travelled to Transylvania and at the moment has got no plans to do so in the near future.

Interviewee jj said that while her family had often planned to travel to Transylvania, the fact that her grandparents had wanted to go with all the grandchildren had always put off their travel plans due to time constraints. She said that she hopes to visit Transylvania eventually but sees no point in going unless she went with somebody who has local knowledge.

In contrast, interviewee qq has travelled to Transylvania on 12 occasions, and describes the experiences as 'unbelievable': not just the beautiful landscape but particularly the friendliness of the local Transylvanian-Saxon population and their readiness to share even the few things they have with visitors. However, to the interviewee, travelling to Transylvania also reinforces the image of what has been lost.

His wife added that she was particularly fascinated by the historic monuments and buildings in the villages and towns of Transylvania, and glad to see the changes that have happened since Ceausescu's fall.

The last interviewee has not had the chance to travel to Transylvania yet and was not sure whether he is likely to do so in the near future.

Grown up outside of community

The next interviewee visited Transylvania with her family shortly after the end of Ceausescu's regime. While she was charmed by the old houses and villages she saw, she was equally shocked how polluted the environment was and recalls one factory town that just seemed to be totally black.

Her brother recalls meeting some of the relatives who still lived in Transylvania at the time of the family's visit and was fascinated by their stories of what life was like in the past compared to the situation he encountered. However, he also believes that the experience of loss encourages the first generation to paint a more colourful picture of the past than how it was in reality[240].

Their brother also commented on the contrasting images of industry-polluted environment with the pretty historic buildings of the towns where his grandparents grew up. Meeting his relatives in Transylvania for the first time on that holiday did not create any communication problems for him in understanding them, and they loved his Austrian dialect so much that at times he even exaggerated it slightly for them.

The last interviewee told me that he would be interested in going to Transylvania but wants to look for others to join him, as he would be worried about travelling there by himself. Apart from the landscape, which he heard is fantastic he said he would be particularly interested in visiting places connected to the Dracula myths.

Sachsenheim settlement

The first interviewee and her brother both said that while they have never been to Transylvania to date, they hope to do so in the future.

[240] From what he could see himself, though he said that the original sense of cosiness and beauty still shimmers through in some way of how the old towns must have been like.

Interviewee mm echoed their sentiment, although she expressed concern about the length the journey would take to go to Transylvania.

Her brother, on the other hand, has already visited Transylvania, with his father and brother and while he was fascinated by its beauty, he was also sad to see so little evidence of any German culture left in his father's hometown. He was also struck by the poverty evident in the whole country and how frozen in time some aspects of daily life seemed[241].

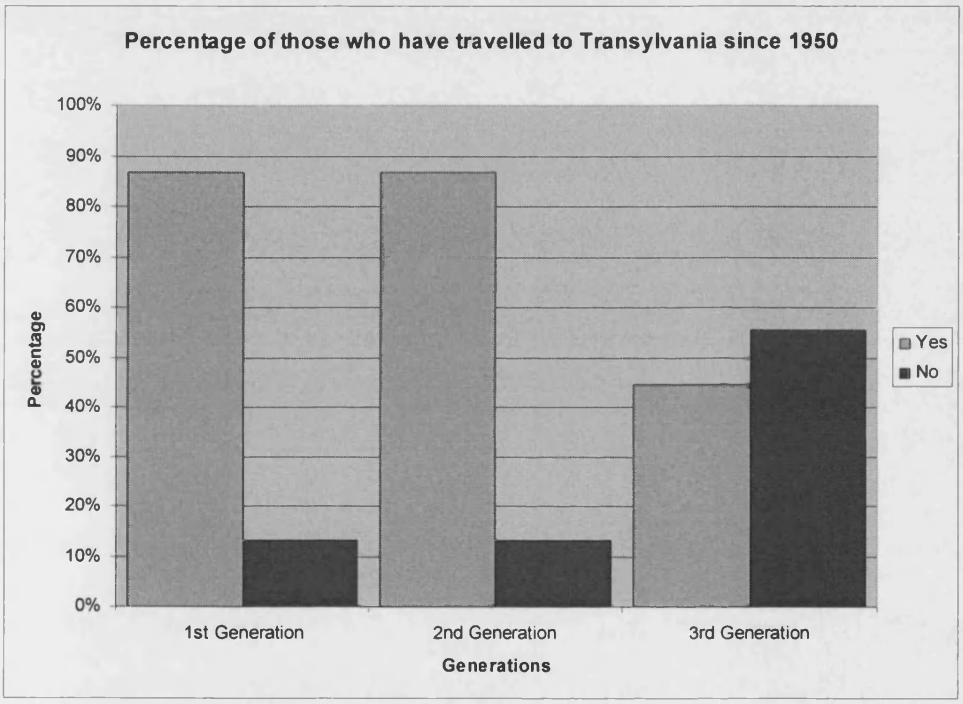

Figure 17 Travel to Transylvania according to generations

Those who had visited Transylvania already had either travelled there with their family or with the Transylvanian-Saxon dancing group but none of them had gone there by themselves, as they found it a frightening prospect to travel to a country where they would be unable to speak the language, concerned about security and generally finding their way around. Of the group who had already travelled to Transylvania, none of them reported a negative experience concerning contact with the locals. However, they expressed sadness at the derelict appearance of the old

[241] Horse-drawn carriages are still frequently used in some parts and he also saw people walking on a main road with their pigs.

buildings and the skyscrapers, which had been erected right next to centuries-old houses, without any seeming concern for architectural planning. Another one pointed out that there was now little or no indication that Transylvania had once had a significant German population and that he had encountered just one Transylvanian-Saxon who still lived in their family's home village.

Despite the fact that the interviewees were shocked to see the poverty and run-down buildings in Transylvania, they all acknowledged the beauty of the country and that they would consider returning there with younger relatives or children. It also should be noted that the experiences of the interviewees in Transylvania depended greatly on the year they travelled there[242].

[242] Those who saw it in the early 90s were mainly confronted with the lack of supplies in the aftermath of the Ceasescu regime collapse, but in recent years, the tourism industry has grown and has turned the Transylvanian cities into destinations attractive to those interested in architecture, a variety of cultural events, cheap food and drink, or even those who want to trace the Dracula trail.

3.6 Transylvanian-Saxon items displayed in interviewees' homes

This question was asked to give further indication of how much information had actually been passed on by the older generations as well as, if and what kind of efforts families make in displaying evidence of their ethnic roots. Furthermore, it would give an idea of whether first generation members of the interviewee's family had been able to save any family heirloom items and what their grandchildren knew about them.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

The first interviewee said that there are a number of items from Transylvania on display in her parents' home, including maps and antique furniture but she did not know whether everything was Transylvanian-Saxon or had more of a family connection. She also mentioned that both her mother and grandmother display jugs with colourful patterns in their kitchens. While she does not know the history of all the items her family has got, she knows that some were smuggled into Austria and that her relatives sometimes had to bribe border guards in order to avoid their cars from being searched.

Her sister said that, while there are many items in her family home, she has always been particularly impressed by the old maps of Transylvania. At a relative's house she was fascinated by an old fireplace, which was covered in tiles that all had been decorated in a Transylvanian-Saxon pattern.

Their brother added that besides the furniture, there were also pieces of jewellery and pictures, and that quite a few of the items had to be taken out of Transylvania secretly or through bribery, and generally taking immense risks.

Interviewee ii told me that her grandmother had left her several items such as jewellery, china and cushions, and that her mother also has a number of other items from Transylvania. The interviewee said that she is aware of their history and who in her family had originally owned them.

Interviewee pp brought back some decorated eggs from her travels to Transylvania last year and was also given a picture of the Mediasch church by her aunt, who still

lives there. Furthermore, she has been given a traditional outfit by her dancing group but has not got any family heirlooms in her own home.

Her brother, who still lives with their parents, said that he was not aware of any items of Transylvanian-Saxon origin on display in their home.

Interviewee jj on the other hand, said that there are several Transylvania-related items in her grandparents', parents' and own home, such as embroidered tablecloths, china plates, a clock her great-grandfather took with him from Transylvania, and many other handicrafts that had been created by family members across the generations.

Interviewee qq said that he owns old photographs, documents, typical Transylvanian-Saxon embroidered textiles and items of clothing, of which he knows whom they had once belonged to.

His wife added that while she had also had been given some traditional outfits from her family, as well as photographs, she also owns a lamp from the house her father was born in, a clock her great-grandfather built himself and some books, which her grandfather had left to her.

The last interviewee said that while his parents had several ornamental items such as embroideries and jugs in their home, he was particularly proud of the old pieces of clothes that made up part of an old traditional outfit that had been passed on down the generations within their family.

Grown up outside a settlement

The first interviewee said that in her own flat, she has got a little chair that used to be part of a set of veranda furniture in her grandmother's parents house in Transylvania, and has been decorated in a colourful, rustic pattern. She has also received some jewellery from her grandmother that would have completed a traditional outfit and has got a suede 'shepherd's' jacket that has been embroidered by her grandmother.

Her brother mentioned the items in his parents home that have a Transylvanian history. They include jugs and china plates, as well as large items of furniture, and he recalls the sense of adventure of smuggling part of one wardrobe back to Austria

when his family travelled to Transylvania in 1990[243]. Furthermore, he said that his mother owns some pieces of jewellery and a decorated belt.

His brother also mentioned pieces of furniture, and especially the effort to take them out of Transylvania and then restore them, such as his great-grandfather's office furniture. Apart from that, he also described some of his mother's jewellery that had formed part of the family heirloom.

The last interviewee said that while there is no evidence of old family antiques in his parents' house, there are some items such as jugs or an ashtray, which his grandparents brought back from Transylvania in the last 20 years.

Sachsenheim settlement

The first interviewee said that in her own home she has only got her Transylvanian-Saxon outfit, which she is sure she will keep forever.

Her brother also said that he still has his traditional outfit, which means even more to him since his grandmother made it for him when he was part of the marching band. He believes that due to the incredible knowledge, effort and handicraft necessary to make such an outfit, it will become a rarity soon, as not many people will still know how to make one.

Interviewee mm says she knows of some old maps displayed on the walls, but other than that she is not aware of any other Transylvanian-Saxon items in her parents' home.

Her brother added that because of the evacuation, his grandparents did not get the chance to take many items with them, although they were able to bring an Oriental wall rug with them.

Most interviewees reported that they still had Transylvanian-Saxon items in their own or their parents' home, an indication that these possessions still have a prominent display and are of a high personal value to them. Interviewees particularly recall stories of smuggling items from Transylvania to Austria with pride, especially if they

[243] While he does not think that it is necessarily a Transylvanian-Saxon piece, he believes it to be just as strongly connected to the family history and Transylvania itself.

were part of such a trip and used by their parents and grandparents to divert the attention of the guards at the border control. None of them voiced any criticism or doubt as to whether these actions were justified or worth taking the risk for. There is certainly an element of satisfaction involved in rescuing the family's belongings from a hostile environment and the daring behaviour necessary to achieve this. Furthermore, they are stories of patience and determination, as large pieces of furniture often were dismantled and then transported to Austria in pieces. This adds fascination and value to a table or wardrobe that might otherwise be seen as an inheritance piece but of no other interest to a young person[244].

[244] The accounts sound like adventure stories with very basic black-white, good-bad characters, the wronged and clever Transylvanian-Saxons who through tricks that might otherwise only be used in action films or dramas, get back what is rightfully theirs. There is only one possible ending, the mission having been successful. There is never any mention of items being found by the Securitate or border control, and what the consequences were or might have been.

3.7 Interest to know more about Transylvanian-Saxon history or culture

While I expected most interviewees to have a relatively good idea of their family history and circumstances of arriving in Austria, I wanted to find out whether the interviewees had come across an area in Transylvanian-Saxon culture or history that they wanted to find out more about, to improve their general knowledge beyond family stories.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

The first interviewee said that she would like to know more about the Transylvanian-Saxon history and traditions but is particularly worried that the only books and information available on the subject would be boring.

Her sister said that through doing this interview she has realised how little she actually knows about Transylvanian-Saxon history, which she aims to change in the future. She believes that the best way of learning something about Transylvania will be to travel there and take in the towns, landscapes and sights.

Their brother added that he would like to find out more about the time of his grandmother's youth to put her stories into perspective. He also heard about a Transylvanian-Saxon scientist, Hermann Oberth, and aims to increase his knowledge on his life and work.

Interviewee ii said that she would like to know more about Transylvania in general, and told me that she has got several books at home to further her knowledge[245].

Interviewee pp on the other hand, feels that she has got a good knowledge of history, traditions and culture but enjoys the fact that she is also kept up to date with information on the situation in Transylvania through the dancing group.

Her brother said that he believes it is always important to show a general interest in other cultures and their history but is not specifically interested in finding out anything else about Transylvania at the moment.

[245] However, she has not read them yet and blames her own sluggishness for not doing so, although she feels that part of the connection to Transylvania has ended for her with the death of her first generation relatives.

Interviewee jj said that while she would generally be interested in knowing more about the history and culture, like other interviewees she is worried about the fact that it might soon bore her. However, she has found a perfect solution, by currently reading her grandfather's autobiography, which not only includes specific information about her family but also about the historical events and consequences.

Interviewee qq knows quite a lot about the Transylvanian-Saxon history and culture already but would like to know more about individual towns and buildings, such as some of the fortified churches. Every time he travels to Transylvania with his family, they are trying to visit a different town or village yet unknown to them and speak to the Transylvanian-Saxons, who still live there.

His wife added, that one can never know enough on a wide subject like this: despite being involved with the Siebenbürger Verein in Salzburg for more than 25 years, she still likes to listen to the stories of the first generation, especially now their numbers are decreasing so rapidly. Furthermore, she has several books on Transylvanian-Saxon history and culture.

The last interviewee said that currently he couldn't think of any subject connected to Transylvanian-Saxon culture or history that he would like to know more about.

Grown up outside a settlement

The first interviewee would also like to discover more about the history but is worried that she would forget most of it again soon. However, as an artist, she would like to learn about the arts and handicrafts of Transylvania, and would definitely visit any lectures or exhibitions on the subject.

Her brother said that he would like to improve his general knowledge of Transylvania, as having lived abroad in the last few years has added to his sense of recognition that he has got more than just an Austrian identity.

Their brother said that while Transylvanian-Saxon traditions and culture are not generally part of his daily life, he has been to a number of extended family reunions and has been fascinated by the stories he has heard there. He has already done some research into the history of Transylvania by doing a presentation about the fortified churches at school. However, situations such as meeting relatives or giving

this interview and talking about his family background have made him realise that he would like to further his knowledge.

The last interviewee said that while he has already received some information through his grandparents and attending the youth camp in Canada, he is not sure whether he wants to know anything else as only one of his parents is of Transylvanian-Saxon descent.

Sachsenheim settlement

The first interviewee said that while there are plenty of books readily available through her parents and grandparents, she is also sceptical whether she would remember much of the information. Like other interviewees, she feels that the best way of creating lasting impressions would be by travelling to Transylvania.

Her brother said he is more interested in the historic development of the Transylvanian-Saxons, why they came to the area in the first place, how they interacted with the other ethnic groups and how they built up and maintained their culture in Transylvania.

Interviewee mm said that if she were presented with books about Transylvanian-Saxon history and culture, she would read them, but there is no subject that she can think of at the moment that would particularly interest her.

Her brother said that he really regrets that he cannot speak a Transylvanian-Saxon dialect himself and that he believes that it would be too difficult to learn it now, although he is able to understand some of it.

3.8 Current situation in Transylvania

I asked this question to find out whether the modern Transylvania is still of interest to the interviewees and their families and whether they discuss the current situation there rather than just their family history. I also thought that this would be a way of finding out whether the interviewees pay attention to any news bulletins on Transylvania or Romania.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

The first interviewee admitted that she knows absolutely nothing about the current situation in Transylvania, although she believes that there are not too many Transylvanian-Saxons left there and that it is mainly populated by Romanians now.

Her sister said that while she believes that there have been some economic improvements in the last 15 years, she still thinks that it is a relatively poor country, with only a few Transylvanian-Saxons still choosing to stay there.

Their brother said that he also believes that there are only few financial resources available to care for the older Transylvanian-Saxons or restore the old properties.

Interviewee ii said that the last time she had heard about recent developments in Transylvania was when she talked to relatives who had come to live in Germany in the early 1990s.

Interviewee pp is updated on the situation in Transylvania and the needs of the people there on a regular basis, as she hears about it when meeting the other members of the dancing club, who also told her about the proposed Dracula theme park. After travelling there herself last year and talking to people, she believes that there is a lot of corruption evident.

Her brother said that the only thing he knows about modern Transylvania is that it has been economically ruined by the Communists and is a very poor country as a result.

Interviewee jj knows that her parents regularly send donations to Transylvania because the population there is so poor. However, generally she feels that her family speak about the past more often than the current situation.

Interviewee qq is very interested in the current developments in Transylvania, especially the talks about Romania becoming an EU member in 2007. He also pointed out that it is quite interesting to see the currently positive situation of the German minorities in Romania, in terms of politics and economy, since Mediasch and Hermannstadt have German mayors at the moment and a number of town councillors speak German. He is glad that the plans for building the so-called Dracula Park in Schässburg have not come to fruition, thanks to a number of protests and the rapid change in politicians.

His wife also mentioned the Dracula Park and the fact that the mayor of Hermannstadt is German, but said that she draws most of her information from her involvement with charities and speaking to the German population in Transylvania.

The last interviewee pointed out that most of the young Transylvanian-Saxons had left in the last couple of decades, which has led to a high percentage of old people among the local population.

Grown up outside a settlement

The first interviewee said that the last time she feels Romania was really in the news was after Ceausescu's downfall, and that she has heard appeals for donations time and again ever since. She believes that the future for the Transylvanian-Saxons who have stayed in the area is not particularly hopeful, as most of the young people have decided to leave.

Her brother admitted that he knows absolutely nothing about the current situation in Transylvania and is not even sure whether Transylvania still exists. In any case, he believes that there is not much evidence of German or Saxon dialects still being spoken there.

Their brother said that it has all turned into a "completely different world to what it was before" and that four or five gipsy families have moved into his grandmother's old family house.

The last interviewee only said that he knows absolutely nothing about the current situation in Transylvania.

Sachsenheim settlement

The first interviewee said that she only has a very basic knowledge, such as that the country is very poor and the future for Transylvanian-Saxons there is not particularly positive.

Her brother added that since he does not read the Transylvanian-Saxon newspaper, he also does not know much about the current situation, although he has heard about the Dracula Park proposals.

Interviewee mm also repeated the facts that most of the group seem to know; that the country is poor and the number of Transylvanian-Saxons is decreasing.

Her brother added that he had read some figures on the number of Transylvanian-Saxons still left in Transylvania, which he remembers to be around 20,000 as compared to 200,000 - 300,000 at the beginning of the 20th century.

Even though most admitted knowing less about the current situation in Transylvania than about aspects of history before the Second-World War, most of them mentioned Ceausescu's name in relation to Transylvanian-Saxon losses and disadvantages in Transylvania.

3.9 Mentioning Transylvanian-Saxon Descent to Children

This question should help to predict whether future generations will still know about their family's ethnic background, even if only a small part of them might be genetically still Transylvanian-Saxon. The answers to this question will also give some indication as to whether the interviewees have a personal interest in the Transylvanian-Saxon aspect of their identity, or whether they are only aiming to concern themselves with it while their parents and grandparents are still alive.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

The first interviewee said that she plans to tell her children about the family's background, but that at the moment she feels she knows too little about it. She also said that she regularly tells friends that she is half Transylvanian-Saxon, which makes most people curious, especially English-speaking ones, as they immediately associate 'Transylvania' with Dracula, while this is not automatically the case with the German word 'Siebenbürgen'. While the interviewee is happy to go along with the jokes and tell people that she is a 'vampire', she also tells them about her family's life in Transylvania and that her grandmother was once very wealthy.

Her sister also wants to pass on as much as she knows to her children about Transylvania, and also said that she tells people that she is half Transylvanian-Saxon.

Their brother is more sceptical whether there is any point in informing any future generations, as they will be too genetically and historically distanced from it all. However, he said that if they would show an interest, he would tell them as much as he knows about it.

Interviewee ii already has a child, and told me that she had spoken to her daughter about the family's history.

Interviewee pp said, that while she would not keep any information from her children and would very much hope that they will have an interest in Transylvania and their roots, it is difficult to speculate on it. She said that with the emergence of the 'global village', individuals are influenced by a range of cultural factors. Furthermore, her

partner might also have his own family history that he is equally eager to pass on or that might appeal to their children more.

Her brother has no plans to pass on any details as he feels that ethnic descent is not relevant to an individual.

Interviewee jj said she is hopeful, that her two-year old son will still learn quite a bit about Transylvania, especially while her grandparents are still alive. She also plans to introduce him to Transylvanian-Saxon dishes and pass on information about the family's history.

Interviewee qq told me that the three trips to Transylvania with their children have meant that they could show them the towns and houses related to the family as well as making them aware of the situation of people in Transylvania, who require support and aid. Furthermore, their children are part of the youth dancing group and also have their own traditional outfits.

His wife added that their children are therefore already aware of their Transylvanian-Saxon roots. Like their parents, they already show an interest in Transylvania's history and culture, and an appreciation for the Transylvanian landscape and the friendliness of people within Transylvania.

The last interviewee said that he definitely wants to inform his children about their ethnic background and will wait to see what interests them most about it.

Grown up outside a community

The first interviewee says that while she has realised through the interview that she does not know particularly much about Transylvania, she still hopes to tell her children about her grandmother and the family reunions that she has attended.

Her brother said that he would tell his children about Transylvania but also most probably take them there to show them where their roots lie.

Their brother said that he felt special for having such interesting ethnic influences and would try to pass on this feeling to his children. He would also like to travel there with them, and thinks that once Romania joins the EU, the country's situation will improve considerably.

The last interviewee said that he definitely plans to pass information on to his children and that he already mentions his family background to friends. In many cases, he has to tell them where Transylvania is and while he does not know a lot about its history himself, he still believes it is important to mention and be proud of one's descent.

Sachsenheim settlement

The first interviewee said that she would try to pass on information to her children through her grandparents' photos and books. She also feels that she will become more interested in the subject herself as she gets older, and will gain more knowledge with the years.

Her brother says that he already tries to inform his children of their descent by taking them to events that the Landsmannschaft has organised and is confident that both his children will one day wear their own traditional outfits.

Interviewee mm said that while she generally plans to pass on information to the next generation she has not thought about what details just yet.

Her brother said that he hopes to gain more knowledge about Transylvania himself in the future so he can competently pass on information to his children, but will also rely on his father and other relatives to inform them.

3.10 Self-Assessment and Description of Identity

This question allows the interviewees to define themselves in terms of their identity, not just ethnically but also in terms of what they feel they 'are'. I also asked them to explain the reasons behind their definitions and which components they felt were important in making up a national identity. I expected that most interviewees would consider themselves to be Austrian but thought that perhaps a few could still see themselves identifying with certain aspects of the Transylvanian-Saxon culture.

Gneis/Eichethof settlement

The first interviewee said that she could see herself being different to 'proper' Austrians in respect to the way she talked; she does not speak an Austrian dialect at all, but High German. While she would describe herself genetically as 50 per cent Transylvanian-Saxon, she said that it is obvious that culturally, she has been more influenced by the Austrian way of life and its traditions[246].

Her sister also said that while she is 50 per cent Transylvanian-Saxon in terms of her roots, the influence of growing up in Austria means that she also sees herself as an Austrian, but not fully at that. She does not necessarily follow any Austrian traditions, but thinks that the place you grow up in will determine your identity regardless.

Their brother said that while he would admit to having Transylvanian-Saxon genetic material, he does not consider himself to have any kind of Transylvanian-Saxon identity as he was born, raised and still lives in Austria. However, he also said that while it was certainly important where a person is born and grows up, the place where they spent most of their life is the most influential component in determining their identity. Hence he argues that even his first generation relatives should be seen as Austrians now rather than Transylvanian-Saxons.

Interviewee ii said that she has always lived in the knowledge of her Transylvanian-Saxon descent, which means that she does not feel completely Austrian today.

[246] However, she added that it is easy to be guided in one's way of life by the country one lives in, and now that she lives abroad, she will also celebrate the holidays and traditions in her new home.

Interviewee pp's second grandmother was originally from Prussia, which means, that, genetically, only a quarter of her is Austrian, and she said that she would like to describe herself as a European with an Austrian passport. However, she also sees herself as Austrian, as she has been born and lived there all her life.

Her brother said that he cannot describe himself as Transylvanian-Saxon or Austrian, but that he considers himself to live in the "European spirit". In his opinion, this means the protection and tolerance of other ethnic groups and religious beliefs.

Interviewee jj's experiences are similar to another interviewee's, in respect to that she has always known that there was "something foreign" inside her, meaning that she would not want to call herself fully Austrian. However, she also argued that since she is already the third generation of her family to live there, she does not think that genetically there is still much evidence of Transylvanian-Saxon identity left in her. Rather, she thinks that her feeling of 'otherness' is the result of her family's influence.

Interviewee qq told me that as he was born in Salzburg, he feels he is a hundred per cent Austrian, and that he follows Austrian traditions, such as dances or wearing Austrian national costume, as well. He is proud to be Austrian, as he feels that Austrians are welcomed and appreciated in the whole world. However, he is equally proud of his Transylvanian-Saxon background, as he has always felt this to be something special. Furthermore, he added that when he travels to Transylvania, he feels a stronger sense of being Transylvanian-Saxon, as the local population still seem to see him as one of 'theirs'.

His wife said that Austria is her home country and she follows both Austrian and Transylvanian-Saxon traditions by wearing the traditional outfits of both. She also added that she is very aware of her Transylvanian-Saxon roots and that she sees them as a significant enrichment to her life.

The last interviewee said that he feels partly Austrian, partly Transylvanian-Saxon as a result of his upbringing and his relatives' influences.

Grown up outside a settlement

The first interviewee said that she thinks of herself as an Austrian, with something 'extra'. She says that she does not fully identify with her first generation relatives that she meets at family reunions but at the same time thinks that it is great that she is

related to them. She also tells friends of her family background and will continue to attend family reunions even when the first generation has gone.

Her brother said that as he has got older, his awareness of being something special or exotic has grown. While he would say that he is Austrian if he was asked about his nationality for official purposes, he said that most of his friends know of his family's Transylvanian background and he also mentions details of his grandparents' life there to them.

Their brother said that while he feels neither Austrian nor Transylvanian-Saxon, in some way he sees himself more strongly associated with the latter, and mentions it to nearly everyone he meets and gets to know. The attraction in the Transylvanian-Saxon aspect of his identity to him is the mysterious, the country itself and also his grandparents' background of wealth and privilege, which he believes to be a rarity.

The last interviewee thinks of himself as pre-dominantly Austrian, although, because of his relatives, he believes a part of him to be Transylvanian-Saxon. He does not follow any traditions of either culture as far as he is aware.

Sachsenheim settlement

The first interviewee told me that having grown up in a settlement with so many Transylvanian-Saxons around her and the fact that all her grandparents are originally from Transylvania, definitely makes a part of her Transylvanian-Saxon and she often mentions her descent to others.

Her brother said that while he feels he is Austrian as he was born there, he also proudly acknowledges his Transylvanian-Saxon identity, meaning that he feels associated with both cultures on an equal level.

Interviewee mm argued, that while she could be considered fully Austrian, as she was born in Salzburg and has lived there all her life, she also likes to identify herself with the Transylvanian-Saxon culture to some extent, wishing that she would know more about it and therefore increase her sense of Transylvanian-Saxon identity.

Her brother said that when somebody asks him about his identity, he describes himself as Austrian initially, but then mentions his Transylvanian-Saxon background to those he gets to know better. He also said that when he was younger, he felt very

proud to be different and have something so uncommon that he could tell others about himself.

4.0 Conclusion

Despite all the protests and outrage over suggestions that there might be any real historic connections of the "Dracula" figure and Transylvania by the first and many of second generation, the association of their grandparents' home country with one of the best known classic horror characters poses no problem to the third generation[247]. They describe enjoying the reaction of people when they refer to themselves as half-Transylvanian and being able to inform them that Transylvania really exists. Two of the interviewees who have not visited Transylvania so far, admitted that apart from visiting places connected to their family, they would like to see castles and towns linked to the Dracula myth[248]. Only one person of those referring to the Dracula connection with Transylvania, expressed annoyance at the association and said that he immediately compensated any jokes that were made by telling people about his family's life in Transylvania, details that he felt were facts about what life there was really like. The others however, said that the connection had, in their view, made them more interesting to friends, who had expressed curiosity and would like to join them on a journey there. They also felt that it was a good "ice-breaker" into a conversation when meeting new people, as "Transylvania" is globally recognisable as the supposed home of Dracula, and the association would help to make them more memorable to a new acquaintance.

While this might increase the tendency of the third generation to mention their Transylvanian-Saxon heritage outside their family and close circle of friends, who otherwise would perhaps be the only ones to be informed about matters concerning the older relatives of an interviewee, this is obviously not the case here, as interviewees feel it adds a mysterious or even exotic touch to their character or personality[249].

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[247] In fact, some of the interviewees seemed to be proud to be able to say that there was "vampire blood" within them and admitted that they sometimes referred to Transylvania as "Transylvanien" rather than to the more common "Siebenbürgen" when talking to German friends and acquaintances to make the connection more obvious.

[248] Even though the interviewees who mentioned the Dracula connection to Transylvania, seemed to be aware that the "historic facts" concerning Vlad Tepes were not necessarily accurate, and referred to the myths and clichés and that they eventually told "jokers" that they were wrong in their assumptions, none of them went into details about what the inaccuracies exactly were, which was highlighted by one person referring to "Dracula's Castle" in Transylvania.

[249] On the other hand, if they allow people to remain in the belief that there really is a historic basis for the myth and stories, they are not representing the Transylvanian-Saxon general opinion of the second and first generation on the matter, to whom the suggested connection is abhorrent.

Before I undertook the research into the identity of third generation Transylvanian-Saxons, I expected little or no interest from the majority of the interviewees and thought the likelihood of even one or two expressing that they had a partly Transylvanian-Saxon identity was not particularly high[250]. It was therefore extremely surprising that the response was so positive, and that a clear majority told me that they could not describe themselves as fully Austrian. The few who said that they did not have a Transylvanian-Saxon identity, were not necessarily committing themselves to a Austrian identity either, saying that they felt "European", which is an important indication that the younger generation feels that rather than being just influenced by the country they have grown up in or their parents' ethnic background, they consider cultural factors from outside their homeland to contribute to their overall sense of identity[251].

It is remarkable that when defining themselves in terms of identity, the geographical or social background did not appear to be a reliable indicator: there were contrasting views expressed across all those groups and even among families: in one case, an interviewee thinks of herself as pre-dominantly Austrian, with a 'footnote' of her Transylvanian-Saxon identity, whereas her brother told me that he feels more connected to a Transylvanian-Saxon than Austrian identity. Likewise, while siblings as well as cousins usually share the same source (their grandparents and parents) they do not show necessarily equal knowledge or interest.

Among those interviewees, who have or had an involvement with a group or concerned themselves with Transylvanian-Saxon culture, are also those interviewees who told me that they are not sure as to whether they will pass on any information to their children, whereas others, who showed only very little knowledge on culture or history, said that they definitely would. This could indicate that they have a different view that can still be imparted to a fourth generation: the interviewees who are not particularly aware of their ethnic descent now, might consider making a few references to the family's background as being sufficient, whereas those who have been more deeply involved, might think themselves as realistic and reason that

[250] Previous research on the topic seemed to confirm these theories, stating that the second generation already had been absorbed into Austrian culture and had limited or no interest in the Transylvanian-Saxon traditions and history and while there were, of course, expressions of hope that the Transylvanian-Saxon culture would not die with the first generation, the conclusions were not particularly optimistic.

[251] Whether this is due to foreign languages learned at school, ease and affordability of travel, the rejection of the concept of nationalism and with it the idea of pride in one's national or ethnic identity, or perhaps the result of European Union encouraging such a feeling, was not made clear in the interviewees' answers.

without the first generation, their own children will be deprived of a main source of information and identity, making their experience quite different to their own.

Generally speaking, all interviewees expressed an interest in learning more about Transylvania. Some mentioned that their grandparents had written down their memories and stories about their families, which they had received copies of, and one interviewee said that she was reading her grandfather's memoirs at the moment. Others doubted that books would be exciting enough to sustain their interest, and that they would like to learn about Transylvania in a way that would not be boring. Those who had not yet visited Transylvania said that the best way would be to travel there and see their family's hometowns and villages for themselves.

The fact that the third generation interviewees I spoke to might not extensively know the Transylvanian history[252] or follow Transylvanian-Saxon traditions on a regular basis, should not lessen the fact that almost all of them see part of their identity as Transylvanian-Saxon and have gone beyond the stage of "just being aware" of their background. While it might not be as strongly expressed as by members of the other two generations, the findings from this generation add to an overall result of Transylvanian-Saxon identity, as hypothesis one set out to test. This identity seems to be, in many cases, fuelled by the mysterious and unusual: only one or two interviewees mentioned the hard work and depravation of the refugees after the war that saw them build a new life and home in Austria and religion found only a few mentions. The strong focus on family life and togetherness was remarked upon more often, but what really stands out are the stories that evoke film-like images: the wealth and glamour of the family before the war; the perhaps fictional but still-very-useful-in-conversations Dracula connection, to the adventure tales of family members smuggling items from Transylvania back to Austria "to save them from the Communists". Set in a country that not many people will have travelled to, which adds to the mystery, one can imagine or expect the young people to employ the same kind of exaggeration and stories that they accuse their grandparents of telling. However, there is more to it than just fantasy nostalgia: the interviewees are familiar with Transylvanian-Saxon food and there are still those who have played in the band, have joined the dancing group or follow other traditions. While elements of traditional Transylvanian-Saxon identity are less visible in the majority of the group when compared to the previous two generations, friendship and unity with other

[252] I did not ask them whether they were interested in history in general, or what they know about Austrian history

Transylvanian-Saxons, the interest and practise of certain traditions is strongly recognisable in some individuals. This suggests to me the likelihood of at least a fourth generation of Austrian-Transylvanian-Saxons growing up with the potential to wonder about their own identity influences, the knowledge that they are part of a small ethnic group that can proudly look back at their long history, the stories of their first generation relatives, that will only increase in their fairytale appeal over the decades and with some of them still wearing the traditional outfits and following traditions throughout the year. Depending on the development of infrastructure and restoration of the cities, they might also be able to see (with their parents also perhaps going there for the first time) Transylvania in a light that will again focus on the area's history before the 1940s and not just the poverty of the population and the skyscraper concrete relics from the Communist era.

Conclusion

1.0 Overview

In this final chapter, I will draw the conclusions concerning the Transylvanian-Saxons as a group, on all the hypotheses outlined, when comparing the findings from the three previous chapters. There I commented on the significance of the findings according to each generation, and while I will refer to some of them again here, it is primarily to seek a general conclusion that can be made for the whole group, rather than the different ages. However, I will also look at the relationship and influences of the different generations on each other through the findings from interviewing relatives of different ages and generations.

2.0 Hypothesis 1 – evidence of Transylvanian-Saxon identity

The identity of the Transylvanian-Saxons has survived several threats to its existence during the shared history in Transylvania and the group's dispersion, as well as influences from different cultural groups. There should be evidence of some level of Transylvanian-Saxon identity not only amongst the first generation but also subsequent generations, who will value being part of such an 'important' group.

The first hypothesis was to test a case for Transylvanian-Saxon identity in Salzburg today and to show that this feeling is not just restricted to the first generation - a group that has only got a limited life expectancy left – but that it is also evident in the ethnic self-definition of the younger generations, and that one can therefore derive predictions for the group's future even after the first generation is gone.

Looking back at the results for the individual groups one will remember that in each instance there was a case for Transylvanian-Saxon identity evident in the descriptions of the majority of interviewees, although there were variations in the level of strength or importance that each group placed on it, from self-definitions of being fully Transylvanian-Saxon to only feeling a part or some aspects of one's overall identity determined or influenced by it.
While this is interesting and part of this research has looked at the thoughts of each individual generation separately and highlighted the differences in their feeling of identity, in order to consider them an entity one also has to look at the contact between the different age groups and how Transylvanian-Saxon identity can therefore be kept alive.

Although it was impossible to speak to younger relatives of all the first generation interviewees I talked to (mostly due to geographical factors or time constraints rather than unwillingness on the side of the younger generations), I was able to see some interesting interactions in the cases of the families where I was able to speak to grandparents and grandchildren. Even when I was unable to talk to any of the younger relatives of an interviewee, the diaries, albums and other memorabilia I was

shown were all prepared for the next generations, to give them a sense of pride in being a Transylvanian-Saxon, and to give them information about the family.

While the reasons given by the first generation interviewees for preparing these autobiographical works are similar (to leave a legacy of the family's life in Transylvania and descriptions of the place they grew up in before the Communist regime, to give an account of the loss of home suffered and the struggle in setting up a new one, plus details of certain traditions/recipes), there is no such congruity in the time frame or context that they will be passed on: a few interviewees have collected these memories without any efforts or plans to "use" them before their death; they are to serve the younger generations as a reminder of their family's background, and specifically, the first generation relative who has prepared them.

In other cases I encountered, the opposite is the case: not only are the younger generations encouraged to read the anecdotes and autobiographies while their first generation relatives are still alive, I also found out that these works do not always originate on the initiative of the older family member, but are the result of children's or grandchildren's motivation.

Unsurprisingly, the younger relatives of the latter example are influenced more strongly by these items in respect to their own identity, as they are able to discuss them with the person who has prepared or kept them.

While there seems to be a stronger case for the younger generation being 'magically enticed' by the stories about the first generations' experiences and many grandparents speaking with pride about the curiosity that the third generation had shown in finding out about their lives in Transylvania and listening to stories and anecdotes from their youth, this was less the case in regard to the second generation: while one first generation interviewee told me that their child had no knowledge or interest in Transylvania, I found the exact opposite expressed to me by the younger relative, who not only knew a lot about the family history but had also read many historical books about Transylvania.

This suggests that the first generation is glad if there is any interest in their lives or origin being expressed by their grandchildren or third generation relatives, who not only have one Austrian parent in most cases, but are obviously detached from the struggles of the first years in Salzburg, that many of the second generation would

have still been part of. My youngest second-generation interviewee even thinks that her parents' expectations on her interest and involvement with Transylvania were different from those placed on her brother (who is ten years older), which she sees as a reflection of her parents' acceptance of a future in Austria.

In those cases, where there was no input from first generation relatives (as they had died or lived too far away), it was interesting to see that the second generation relatives made a bigger effort in ensuring that the younger generations would be informed about their descent, while this was not necessarily the case in families where first generation members were still alive. While a second generation member without older Transylvanian-Saxon relatives might feel the best qualified person to tell their children about the family's history and the experiences of their first generation relatives in settling in Austria (one second generation interviewee's parents had both died before her children were born, so she has been the main source of information about Transylvania as well as their grandparents to them), other interviewees, whose parents or other older relatives are still alive, have chosen to "fill in the gaps" of knowledge that they feel the first generation members around them, lack, or where they disagree with their views, for example, in respect of history.

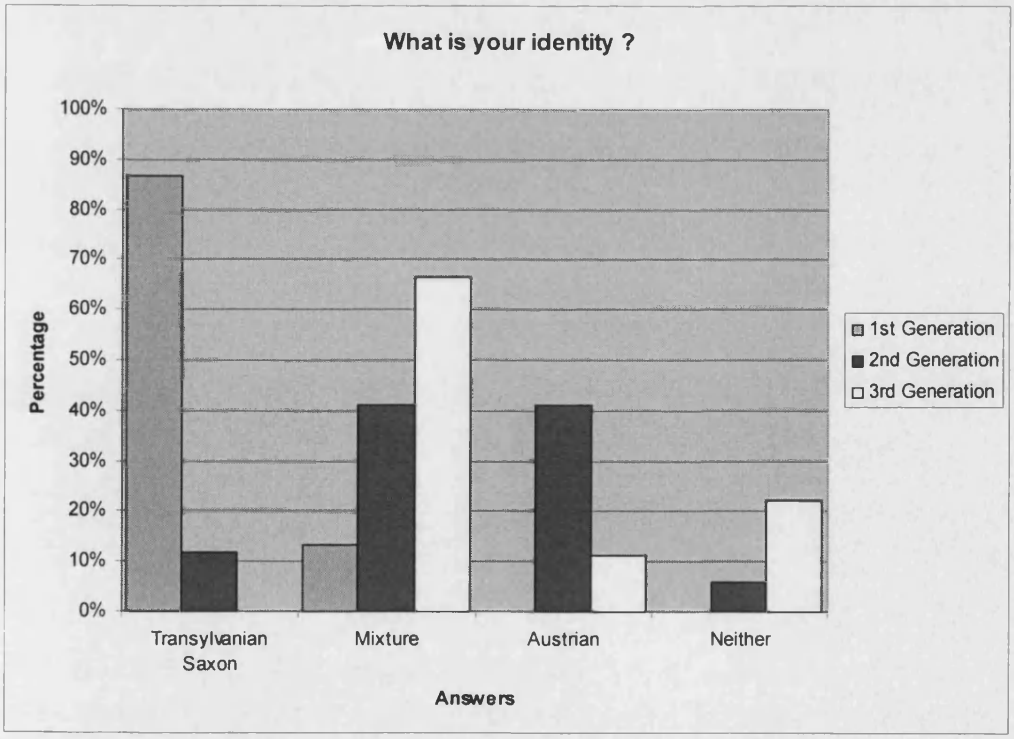

Figure 18 What is your Identity

My findings support this hypothesis not just on the level of the different generations acknowledging a Transylvanian-Saxon descent or identity, but also in expressing their pride in it. Furthermore, it also shows that in most cases, efforts have been made to make the younger generation feel descendants of a group, rather than just an individual family. However, what also has become obvious from testing the first hypothesis is that there are clear differences in the definition and self-assessment of Transylvanian-Saxon identity between the generations, which was the examination point of the third hypothesis, and will be evaluated in detail in a section below. This will also allow me to offer explanations for the self-definitions of the different generations reflected by Figure 18, and included here to highlight the fact that there is an expression of Transylvanian-Saxon identity in the descriptions of the majority of interviewees.

Another way to put the findings of the first hypothesis into perspective is to look for evidence for characteristics or elements of the group identity that have been passed on through the generations, pointing towards their continued importance and strength of the group; this has been the aim of the second hypothesis, and will now be discussed below.

3.0 Hypothesis 2 – Elements of 'traditional' Transylvanian-Saxon identity still evident

The key elements of contemporary Transylvanian-Saxon identity are the strong sense of community, preserving a German culture, an interest in Saxon history, following Saxon traditions and a Protestant belief. The use of a specific dialect, while still an important distinguishing feature compared to other groups, is lessened in its value for examining identity today, as there was a number of Transylvanian-Saxons who did not speak such a dialect whilst still living in Transylvania, and the fact that the interviewees researched live in a German speaking country. Therefore, while the use or knowledge of a Saxon dialect are relevant to the overall assessment and conclusion, the factors to be tested in considering evidence of a continued Transylvanian-Saxon identity will focus on the other elements identified.

By testing this hypothesis I wanted to show that there are certain elements of national identity that will be passed on throughout a number of generations, even outside the original 'homeland'.
However, as has been argued in the Identity chapter, sometimes even central aspects of a group's identity can lose their importance through a general change of attitude towards them or specific factors meaning that they are no longer relevant or applicable to the overwhelming majority of a group. Below, I will look at the elements of Transylvanian-Saxon identity that have been successfully passed on, but also factors that need to be considered for a 'modern' definition of Transylvanian-Saxon identity.

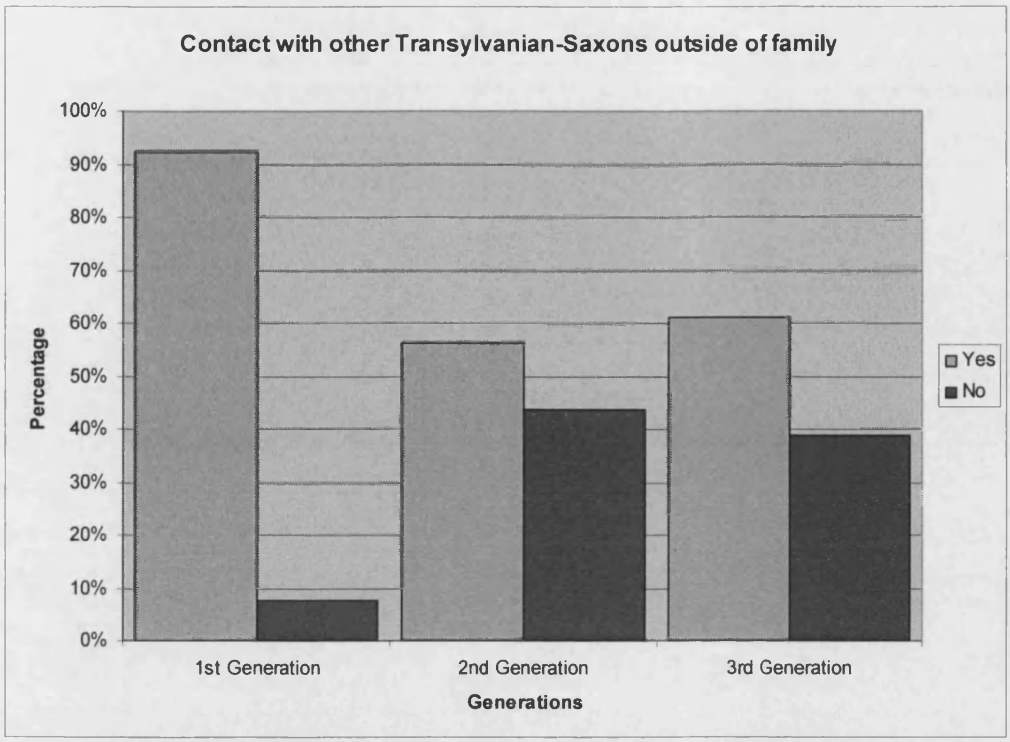

Figure 19 contact with T-S outside own family

The most surprising finding for me in regard to the research, was the fact that hardly any of the interviewees mentioned **religion** as a key characteristic of Transylvanian-Saxon identity, not so much in the case of the third or even second generation, but particularly in case of the first generation interviewees, who I would have expected to tell me that they are attending church on a regular basis or that a greater number would comment on the recently built Protestant church near the Eichethof and Gneis settlements. As it turned out, the only comments about that church made by the interviewees were negative ones about its architecture rather than as an opportunity of bringing the local community together, and a couple of first generation interviewees indicated that they are not very religious, in one case even while the family had still lived in Transylvania. One reason for this could be the urban background of the interviewees, as there are examples of church and religion-critical writings of Transylvanian-Saxons in the 1920s and 30s, and the effects of the War might have disillusioned some, but it seems to suggest more religion's loss of significance in people's everyday lives.

While individual interviewees of all generations drew my attention to **customs** they follow at Christmas or Easter, or mentioned the fact they still celebrate the "name day" of relatives (although it was obviously not clear to all of them that this was a

Transylvanian-Saxon tradition), the answer most of them gave in connection with Transylvanian-Saxon **traditions** was food and the reference to specific Transylvanian-Saxon dishes[253]. Other activities that individuals follow at home are crafts, such as cross-stitching, and quite a few homes are decorated with tablecloths, cushions and wall rugs bearing traditional patterns.

Some interviewees help to preserve traditions as members of a group and by doing this keep Transylvanian-Saxon songs, music and dances alive. However, I was not surprised that only a minority of my interviewees have joined such clubs as they represent special interest activities; in fact the percentage figures are most likely not different to those of young Austrian or German people joining similar folk music groups in their countries. As with the decline in religious interest, I do not think that the fact that the majority of interviewees do not regularly follow Transylvanian-Saxon traditions or that some of them do not have traditional outfits, means that this needs to indicate a lack of interest in their Transylvanian-Saxon identity, but more a reflection of modern times[254].

Much has been made of the Saxon "**sense of community**" before and after their emigration, and while claims for its presence throughout Saxon history are clearly wrong, at least the "belief" in its long and continued existence can be found in the answers of a high number of interviewees in all three generations, making a strong case for a Saxon community, at least in the imaginations of a large percentage. In order to test the validity of this "myth", I questioned interviewees about their friendships and contact with other Saxons outside their own family. As can be seen in Figure 19, the majority of interviewees in each generation are still in contact with other people of Transylvanian-Saxon descent they are not related to, with several interviewees commenting that they view these friendships as stronger and longer lasting than others, while some interviewees also pointed out that they have noticed an instant connectedness and understanding with new people they have met, who were also of Transylvanian-Saxon descent.

Some first and second generation interviewees still draw attention to the "**German**" identity of the group, while others, however, highlight the historic links to the

[253] The majority told me that they enjoy Transylvanian-Saxon meals and named some of their favourites, although one interviewee pointed out that the majority of dishes are high in fat and another said that they are hardly suitable for a vegetarian lifestyle.
[254] Some interviewees told me that they are just not "club-member-types" but cared about the preservation of Transylvanian-Saxon traditions and culture and would be happy to donate money instead.

Habsburg monarchy. Several reported disappointment with the "Germany" or "Germans" that they encountered as the experiences did not match their expectations – one interviewee having even left Transylvania for Germany after the descriptions by German officers stationed in Transylvania, was not only unable to reach her intended destination; she also only realised on the resettlement boat what it might mean to move to a country that was at war, and in that respect a very different situation from the Transylvania she had left behind at the time. One of my interviewees moved across the border to Germany but told me that this was only for personal gain as her husband would have had to retake a far higher number of exams for his degree in Austria as he was required to in Germany. The couple stayed in close contact with the Saxon community in Salzburg and according to the interviewee it took them a rather long time to settle in the German town of Freilassing, even though they had been strangers in Salzburg as well.

The second generation interviewees mentioned the "German identity" factor not as frequently as the first generation, although one interviewee was classified as a German national until her late teens; something that added to the confusion of her sense of identity; another interviewee, who has spend a big part of his life in Germany and still divides his time between there and Austria will only acknowledge a part-German identity; the rest of the interviewees choose to describe themselves to varying degrees as Austrians or Saxons, with none of them expressing a identification with modern German culture.

Some of the third generation interviewees might have pointed towards the German origin of the Saxons but none of them see themselves as part of a "German" or even "German-culture" group now, underlining the successful integration of their first- and second-generation relatives, as well as the strongly developed individual Austrian identity.

In all three groups there were individuals who displayed a very strong interest and knowledge in **Transylvanian-Saxon history**, although the second generation were definitely the most critical. The general tendency of those interviewees seems to reflect the views expressed by modern scholars who are trying to balance the over-glorification of the Saxons' historic achievements and over-emphasis on their German identity that can be derived from the loss of status as a group and wave of nationalism of the late 19th Century, with an aim towards a comprehensive historiography of Transylvania including all co-habiting ethnic groups rather than

sustaining nationally-motivated arguments that serve to suggest advantages or power claims of one group over the others.

As the section above, and the individual results chapters have shown, all the characteristics of Transylvanian-Saxon identity outlined in the hypothesis are still evident in the three generations, albeit at varying levels. I have already discussed the reasons for the decline of the importance of religion, and I do not think it is surprising that there was no specifically pronounced insistence of the "German" identity of the Saxons. "Sense of Community" seems to have become more of a phrase applicable to the past rather than everyday life in Salzburg, with the reduction in first generation members, and several among the second and third generation leaving the area. However, interviewees in all generations not only believe that it still exists but also gave me examples of their friendships, encounters or are even offering guest beds to other Transylvanian-Saxons coming to the area.

Those involved in traditions mainly practise them as part of a group – marching band, choir, dancing group – while the preparation of typical dishes also can be seen as a social activity.

I was particularly impressed with the wide interest and knowledge in Transylvanian-Saxon history, which again, could be found in all three generations. Overall, there were only very few interviewees who appeared to struggle with naming different traditions, or said that they have not practised or participated in any themselves.

4.0 Hypothesis 3 – Differences in the Generations' Experience and Level of Transylvanian-Saxon Identity

Identity will be expressed and defined differently by the generations tested: First generation have maintained their Transylvanian-Saxon identity and are most likely to share the traditional values of a Transylvanian-Saxon identity, such as togetherness with other members, strong sense of religion and are more likely to be married to another Transylvanian-Saxon, plus show greater knowledge of achievements in history and sense of pride.

Members of the second generation have a mixed sense of identity due to Transylvanian-Saxon parents and childhood in Austria. They will show varying degrees of involvement with other Transylvanian-Saxons, groups and interest in their family's culture.

They are the most confused group in terms of describing their identity.

Youngest generation are more likely to feel Austrian, although might feel connection to Transylvania through grandparents' stories, family traditions or travel to Transylvania.

My main aims in the research undertaken have been to show in what way the younger generations looks at their Transylvanian-Saxon family background and define themselves, not whether the first generations and their children have integrated themselves in Austria successfully, as might have been the primary concern of the earlier studies. It would have therefore been mistaken to apply the same criteria for assessing whether there is a case for evidence of Transylvanian-Saxon identity in respect to each generation group. Below I will look at the way previous studies have considered the identity of second and third generations, before assessing the results generated by my own research.

Due to the perhaps overwhelming affirmation of a successful settlement in Austria as the result of earlier studies, the question of whether the younger generations were

still identifying themselves as Transylvanian-Saxons or what aspects of the culture interested them might have therefore been neglected or not considered relevant. It is also difficult to speculate on the future of a group like the Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg, or other parts of Austria, as so much depends on the individual factors and efforts, such as the ability of older generations and people organising events and clubs to maintain a certain public image. Before starting my own research and after reading Sutter's and Petri's studies, as well as consulting an academic at an Austrian University, I was not particularly hopeful regarding the chances of discovering any significant forms of affirmation towards a Transylvanian-Saxon identity particularly among the third generation interviewees, although the fact that there are still a number of traditional dance and music groups, as well as a Landsmannschaft active in Salzburg, gave me an early indication that there might be some interest among the younger people. However, I did specifically choose not to select my interviewees on the basis of their involvement or even find them through such clubs as that could have severely falsified my results. In fact, I think that the way I got in contact with my interviewees through people known to my family and their relatives and friends, was in itself indicative of the existence of a Transylvanian-Saxon community and the value of togetherness, as it shows that people know of each other and how to get in contact without being the closest of friends or neighbours[255].

While I was not particularly surprised about the first generation's feeling of identity – all interviewees still consider themselves to be Transylvanian-Saxons, although most will also refer to Austria as their home – it would have been difficult to anticipate or predict the outcome of the same question for the other generations: in the second generation, there are examples of individuals considering themselves to be fully Transylvanian-Saxons, Austrians or a mixture of both, despite sharing similar family backgrounds (both their parents being Transylvanian-Saxons in the majority of cases), being of similar age and growing up in similar circumstances.

Their different arguments explain why they feel this way (neither their parents nor relatives being Austrian means that they cannot be Austrian either; the fact that they have lived in Austria all their lives and never been to Transylvania for more than a holiday, suggests that their surroundings and childhood have been dominated by

[255] Likewise, Sutter did not interview young people specifically involved in any youth clubs or projects at the time, and given the mixed reactions that I got from the second generation interviewees (who would have been in the age range of the third generation members I spoke to at the time of her research), I am not surprised that she chose to devote less space to them or was not too positive about the future of the Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg.

Austrian geography, people and culture; or the fact that they have been influenced by both, means they can identify with both groups) just reflects how many different factors can contribute to achieving a definite sense of identity in an individual, based on their own concept of logic as to which factor[256] is the most important one in defining their own identity. It proves that it is impossible to refer to them in any other general term than second generation Transylvanian-Saxons from Austria, and how much individual thought is present in describing national identity.

While the second generation appear to have fought to defend the right to describe themselves in the way they see themselves[257], the third generation has not gone through this type of struggle. While there was an example of one-third generation member being ridiculed for his Protestant creed, the fact that the third generation would have not presented any other outward factors to their Austrian peers that would have made them stand out specifically means that they were not faced with an early dilemma of what they are. Rather, depending on how early in their life, to what extent and with what regularity they were made aware of their potential second identity, they might have felt more or less close to Transylvanian-Saxon culture from a young age. Based on the level of personal interest and therefore knowledge they have gained about Transylvania and their family history, this second identity, in their own description, brings them benefits, as it can make them more interesting and individual. However, it does not bring any disadvantages as it is not vital for them to mention it if they don't want to. Nevertheless, I was surprised about the high percentage of third generation members who feel they cannot describe themselves as totally Austrian, and while they do not generally go as far as to say they are '50 per cent Transylvanian-Saxon, 50 per cent Austrian', the fact that most will mention their family background to new friends and they generally plan to mention it to their children and future generations, shows that it means more to them than being just a distant aspect in their family's history.

As predicted by the hypothesis, the attitudes of the three generations vary greatly, not only in respect as to whether the interviewees consider themselves to be Transylvanian-Saxon in any way, but also what factors have influenced this decision/thought process. I believe that in most cases, the answers of the interviewees reflect a combination of family influence, youth experiences and cultural

[256] E.g. their place of birth, nationality of parents, whether they grew up in a settlement, place they have lived most of their lives, where they attended school, what passport they hold, and many more
[257] When they grew up, it would have been more obvious for example, that their parents were not from Austria, hence presenting difficulties to be considered "Austrian" by Austrian children

attitudes, as can be seen in the "European" rather than country-specific self-description among some members of the third generation.

The results illustrated in figure one are also put in a clearer perspective when considered in combination with the analysis of the different generations' answers; particularly the choice of "mixture of Transylvanian-Saxon and Austrian identity", which was expressed by members of all three groups, needs to be viewed in respect to the individual generations: for the first, it shows an acknowledgement that they have come to accept Austria as their home, for the second a "happy medium" after years of feeling torn between being either Transylvanian-Saxon or Austrian, while for the third, it is an indication of interest and awareness of their grandparents' background.

In respect to the second-generation members describing themselves as Austrians, as has been shown in the Results chapter, rather than this being a sign of disinterest or lack of knowledge, most of those interviewees were not only extremely knowledgeable about Transylvanian-Saxon history and traditions, but also actively involved in maintaining a group identity.

The analysis in this section has provided explanations for the generations' self-definitions, which as has been highlighted above, does not necessarily match their interests or activities in respect to either Austrian or Transylvanian-Saxon culture. This aspect, in turn, indicates the difficulties in making predictions for the future of the group.

5.0 Hypothesis 4 – Demographic Factors Influencing Feeling of Identity

> Transylvanian-Saxon immigrants from a city/wealthy/academic background have experienced and dealt with the challenges of settling in Austria since the Second-World War differently. This also means a distinction between the groups in terms of their national identity and attitudes to their loss of home.

While this hypothesis was to primarily prove the way background and other demographic factors can influence the identity of an immigrant and therefore distinguish his experiences from those from a different demographic group, all the interviewees across the generations have been grouped according to their geographical situation, such as whether they grew up in a settlement, live in the city or the countryside, or in the case of the second generation, whether they still spent the first few years of their lives in Transylvania. Assessing the effects of those geographical factors can have on the feeling of identity of all generations can therefore also be considered in regard to this hypothesis.

Hence, in the two sections below, I will not only draw the conclusions on the hypothesis the original purpose of restricting it to the first generation, but then extend it to the other two generation groups as well, meaning that the geographical factors considered in the latter case, will mainly be the ones the interviewees were grouped in, in the Results chapters, rather than just the rural/city, North/South Transylvanian divides previously considered, although they, too, have some relevance to the younger generation groups.
Furthermore, the individual results chapters have also pointed to the influences of other demographic factors on the second and third generation, as a direct result of the previous situation/status of their first generation relatives.

5.1 Geographical Influences

In the case of the first generation, two geographical factors were considered; whether an interviewee had originated from North or South Transylvania, and in the case of city dwellers, the effects of moving into a rural environment. The significance of the first one can be found in the immediate contact to Transylvania directly after the war as South Transylvanians undertook not only a far greater number of journeys back overall, but also at an earlier stage than North Transylvanians, who in the case of my interviewees, tended to wait 15-20 years before their first return. Furthermore, it was only the South Transylvanians in my research, who all specifically visited their hometowns, rather than other parts of Transylvania. There is an obvious reason behind this; the high number of immediate family and friends who had remained in South Transylvania, under severely disadvantaged conditions. However, in returning to provide their loved ones with financial support, the interviewees also helped themselves in respect to their own sense of loss, as unlike in the case of the North Transylvanians, only in their hometowns could they still find their 'old community'.

Looking at the situation of those interviewees from city backgrounds, it is clear that their sense of displacement was even furthered by the bewilderment with a completely new environment, which did not offer the facilities that they were used to, as well as confronting them with tasks they had never learnt. It is hardly surprising then, that the majority chose to resettle in a city again, at the earliest opportunity.

Considering the younger generations, there is some evidence that geographical location can influence a person's involvement in cultural activities, but this does not seem to determine somebody's overall feeling of identity. While those who had grown up in the closed community of Sachsenheim tended to have more experience in participating in the marching band or following traditions such as "sprinkling" at Easter, they did not express a more pronounced sense of feeling Transylvanian-Saxon.

While geographical factors do determine the amount of contact with other Transylvanian-Saxons, they do not have an impact on the strength of friendships. This is not restricted to any generation in particular – there are first generation members, who besides their family have little or no contact with other Transylvanian-

Saxons in Salzburg, unless they are in the immediate neighbourhood. However, there were also examples of first generation interviewees who have kept in contact with friends whom they only know from growing up in Transylvania but who later lived in completely different towns and countries. In that case, it might be more likely that these people are reminders of their youth rather than that they are Transylvanian-Saxons. However, many people have also reported that there is a different sense of understanding between themselves and other Transylvanian-Saxons that they feel could not be shared with an Austrian, and that is the reason why they have chosen to stay in contact with them despite geographical distances. This phenomenon is also evident amongst the second generation, where some interviewees described Transylvanian-Saxons as their best friends regardless of where they live, not just because they were youth friends but because of the qualities of a Transylvanian-Saxon friendship.

With the youngest generation, geographical factors have influenced whether they know any other third generation Transylvanian-Saxons in their age group: those, who have grown up in either a closed or mixed settlement or have close family members living there, told me that they know other Transylvanian-Saxons of a similar age, although only a couple have continued to enjoy strong or consistent friendships with them. A number of friendships have been formed amongst third generation interviewees who have not grown up in the same development and who did not meet at specially organised events, which suggests that they still mention their family background to others. However, examples of these kinds of friendships were only found among people who had grown up in a neighbourhood where other Transylvanian-Saxons lived. It is impossible to say whether those who have grown up outside a settlement are less likely to meet other Transylvanian-Saxons, even in other parts of their hometown, or if they are less likely to mention their identity to others, regardless of what they told me in the interviews. If the latter is the case, then it could be argued that, while geographical factors do not primarily determine a person's sense of identity in later life, they might subconsciously affect the amount of times or ways a person speaks about their background.

5.2 Background Influences

This hypothesis also addressed the influence of identity and integration on those interviewees coming from an academic or wealthy background. The results have

shown that while this group suffered from the humiliation of being degraded to doing often manual jobs that were completely unrelated to their life up to that point, as they had been able to rely on servants; now, not only, had they become the ones to cook and clean for others, but also had to learn these tasks at the same time. The new circumstances made it challenging to continue with education or complete their degrees, and some had to settle for a completely different career from the one they had originally aspired to. Apart from the loss of material wealth, which can be said, all refugees suffered, the loss of status was even harder to accept for those from privileged background, as, while some level of prosperity could be achieved again, the 'new' society environment could not reinstate the position held in the 'old' one; no longer were they viewed as members of a long-established, influential family but only as one of the collective refugees.

Due to the comparatively small number of three generation sets of relatives, and the fact that the first generation interviewees were pre-dominantly from a non-farming background, it is difficult to draw any real conclusions, and this would offer scope for future research.

However, based on the answers from some of the interviewees, I feel it is possible to offer the following observations that could be tested by researching a larger number of participants: if a family had wealth and/or status in Transylvania, second and third generation interviewees would often refer to this when talking about their knowledge about Transylvania, or mention the material losses their family had to endure. There were not as many references made to traditions that were continued within the family, although they seemed to have a more detailed knowledge about family anecdotes, involving relatives that they might not even have known. This can lead to an easy confusion of what exactly was Transylvanian-Saxon and what was family tradition, as the strong emphasis on family does not necessarily allow for distinction[258].

While most second and third generation interviewees were able to name typical Transylvanian-Saxon dishes, this does not mean that they can cook these dishes themselves or use family recipes to prepare them. As some of the first generation members I spoke to only learned to cook during or after the war it would have been

[258] This is more evident in third generation interviewees than those from the second generation, as the children of first generation settlers were confronted with a wider range of Transylvanian-Saxon dialects and traditions than the third generation.

difficult to get a hold of some of the ingredients so soon after the war, consequently passing on family recipes or cooking typical dishes would have presented a considerable challenge. Furthermore, the general availability of convenience foods makes it less necessary to be able to cook for oneself and means that some of the third generation have not been instructed on how to cook. Therefore, cooking can now be seen as more of a hobby than as a necessity, and the level of proficiency in preparing Transylvanian dishes seems to be more related to personal interest by the individual rather than instruction, meaning that there are second- and third generation members who are able to cook Transylvanian recipes that their first generation relatives are still unable to make[259].

Another difference is the Transylvanian-Saxon items on display in the houses of families of different backgrounds: some people from wealthy, city backgrounds (predominantly from South Transylvania due to reasons outlined in previous chapters) have been able to take some of their old furniture and fixtures from their properties in Transylvania with them and in some cases have passed them on to their children and grandchildren. However, as most of these items are not recognisable as something typically Transylvanian-Saxon it is arguable whether displaying them in one's home is valuing a family item or showing off an antique. The item seen most often in the homes of first generation members is perhaps the traditional Transylvanian-Saxon jug. However, when talking to younger generations, quite a few admitted to having packed them away or keeping them out of sight from visitors. The reason for this was not that they were ashamed of their background, but rather felt that they did not fit in with the style of their home.

While this hypothesis has clearly highlighted the direct effects on the integration experience of the first generation immigrant depending on his demographic background, it is fascinating that these factors can also have an impact on the younger generations. While in their case this becomes most obvious in connection to the type of surrounding they have grown up or live in (inside or outside a settlement area), other influences such their family's status or background in Transylvania also indicate variations in the kind of information that is being passed on, while the first generation's North or South-Transylvanian origin can mean that a second- or third-generation member might have still been able to visit relatives living in Transylvania

[259] They might have got the recipes through friends, books or on the Internet, which makes it less essential to be instructed by an older relative.

post-war, thus witnessing a glimpse of their family's life there, rather than just desolate houses and places, that were once their family's home.

6.0 Conclusion - Future of Transylvanian-Saxon Identity in Salzburg and Austria

While the findings from the research are positive in terms of interest and identification on the part of the younger generations, attempting to deduct predictions for their future in the next 20 years and beyond is a difficult task. By then, the first generation[260] will be gone, and one could argue, with them the key reason for keeping the Transylvanian-Saxon events and clubs in Austria alive. As there have hardly been any new settlers from Transylvania in Austria in the last 30 to 40 years, unlike Germany, the Austrian Transylvanian-Saxons have not received any impulses and influences from people who still consider themselves to be primarily Transylvanian-Saxons[261], but are in the age group of the second and third generation.

The thoughts of the interviewees on the future for the Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg vary in terms of its longevity and validity in maintaining organisations and group events: while a number of them view these efforts as 'traditionalist' or 'outdated', others believe that dedicated individuals will continue to keep a Transylvanian-Saxon spirit alive through their work in the Landsmannschaft to the benefit of those, who are not seeking active involvement themselves but have expressed an interest in its work and willingness to contribute toward its future financially. Some interviewees suggested that an effective way for smaller organisations (such as the one in Salzburg) to prolong their existence, might be the co-operation with those from a bordering county, which might also attract the interest of a bigger number of non-members:

By combining events with clubs and groups from Upper Austrian (which still has the most Transylvanian-Saxons of all generations living within its borders) towns and villages as well as those from other parts of Austria, it would be possible to organise maybe fewer but bigger events that could attract more visitors and mean that a bigger variety of displays, foods and attractions can be offered.

Given the fact that such a high percentage of second generation interviewees told me that they still consider themselves to have a Transylvanian-Saxon identity or have

[260] Apart from those who came to Austria from Transylvania, when they were very young
[261] Although they also struggle to be seen and accepted as Germans in Germany, rather than Romanians, similar to the experiences described by some of the second generation interviewees.

followed traditions without the encouragement of first generation relatives indicates to me that there will be a future for the Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg and Austria during the lifetime of the second generation.

Furthermore, even those interviewees who expressed criticism in the concept of maintaining organisations outside of Transylvania, at the same time expressed interest in the developments in Romania, the restoration and conservation of Transylvanian-Saxon historic buildings and ensuring that the impact of Transylvanian-Saxon culture on the area is not forgotten and also represented objectively; this shows that they also still strongly identify and care about their Transylvanian-Saxon background but feel the focus needs to be within the boundaries of the 'homeland', which also explains their calls for Transylvanian-Saxons who have left, to return there.

A couple of interviewees also indicated an interest in buying property in Transylvania as a holiday home, which shows that they are hoping to go there on several occasions in the future.

While the third generation may not feel as strongly about their Transylvanian-Saxon identity as an overall group, when compared to the first and second generation, there are also several examples of individuals who have become very involved with organisations, knowledgeable about Transylvanian history and culture, and have travelled there; while they do not form the majority within their interviewee group, they are also not just isolated cases and prove that despite the successful integration into the Austrian culture, Transylvanian-Saxon identity among the third-generation is not just a passing interest in their family's history.

Most interviewees, regardless of current level of knowledge or identification, however, expressed an interest in finding out more about Transylvania and told me that they would be planning on passing on this information to their own children.

Some interviewees explained to me that they prefer to receive information about Transylvania from their first-generation relatives rather than reading books, but there are also other options for them to get to know more about culture and traditions: there are a wide selection of web-sites dedicated to the Transylvanian-Saxons, their history, individual towns, travel to Transylvania, recipes, different dialects and discussion groups online, which therefore not only cover many topics but also offers

perhaps different perspectives on some of the views and information they have received from older relatives.

Travel to Romania, has also become more tourist-orientated, and it should receive a significant boost, particularly on its infrastructure, upon Romania joining the EU in 2007. As has been seen, a number of third generation interviewees have already travelled to Transylvania, some of them on several occasions. Among the ones that have not, the majority are hoping or planning to go there in the future, mainly to visit the places connected to their families. Improvements in ease of travel to and around Romania should also diminish the concerns about the safety of the country, and thus encourage more young people (who grew up with their grandparents' accounts of post-war trips) to go there.

While the above are options for the individual to further their knowledge of Transylvanian-Saxon culture or seeing for themselves the country that their grandparents grew up, and this might deepen their own feeling of Transylvanian-Saxon identity, what might the consequences be for the Transylvanian-Saxons as a group in Salzburg?

While there are third-generation members involved in clubs and organisations already, the majority of interviewees regardless of the interest they have expressed in their answers, are not. The consequence for the future of this could be a number of individuals who have still an understanding of Transylvanian-Saxon culture and a level of affinity for it, but who no longer view themselves as part of a group. This could become the case, especially as the second generation are getting older, and no efforts are made by official organisations to find ways of recruiting new members.

On the other hand, it is encouraging that there are still events and activities aimed at children, and Transylvanian-Saxon dancing classes are attended by fourth generation Salzburg-Saxons. Thus, returning to the current situation of the Transylvanian-Saxons in Salzburg, I believe that this thesis has shown that it is still possible to make a case for such a group, without having to resort to those involved in organisations alone.

While the successful integration and with it, intermarriage with Austrians means that individuals no longer form as homogeneous an ethnic group, as they did before the emigration from Transylvania, particularly in respect of religion, the results not only

exceeded my expectations but also predictions of past studies, concerning feeling of identity among the younger generations.

It is clear that unlike the first (and in quite a few cases, the second), the youngest generation have been naturally able to regard Austria or Salzburg as their home, and have not had to deal with prejudices or rejection from the local population, as was the case in the years immediately after emigration from Transylvania.

The settlements, community buildings and churches the first generation built have left their mark on the local area. The younger generations, particularly the third, have been able to take their existence for granted, and while their Transylvanian-Saxon consciousness could be influenced by the geographic context they grew up in, as has been shown in a section above, their feeling of being Transylvanian-Saxon is not exclusively tied to them.

As has been seen, the main uniting factor across all the generations in respect to their Transylvanian-Saxon identity is the interest and pride of its history and seeking to preserve this, will be the best guarantor for its future. This might divert the focus from the regional context of a Transylvanian-Saxon community within in Salzburg to feeling part of a diaspora group with members all over the world, but at the same time reinforces the validity of my first hypothesis.

However, without the efforts of individuals and organisations to establish and maintain group association and identity locally, the results for the younger generations would have undoubtedly been rather different. For now, there are three generations, who have been able to feel part of a Transylvanian-Saxon group in Salzburg, which shows that despite the fact, that they are also fully integrated in Austria and its culture, a minority's identity can prevail to affect the ethnic conscience of individuals born several decades after the first generation have left their home country. Considering that all third-generation parents I spoke to have already started in making their children aware of their Transylvanian-Saxon heritage, indicates that this will also be applicable to a fourth one.

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